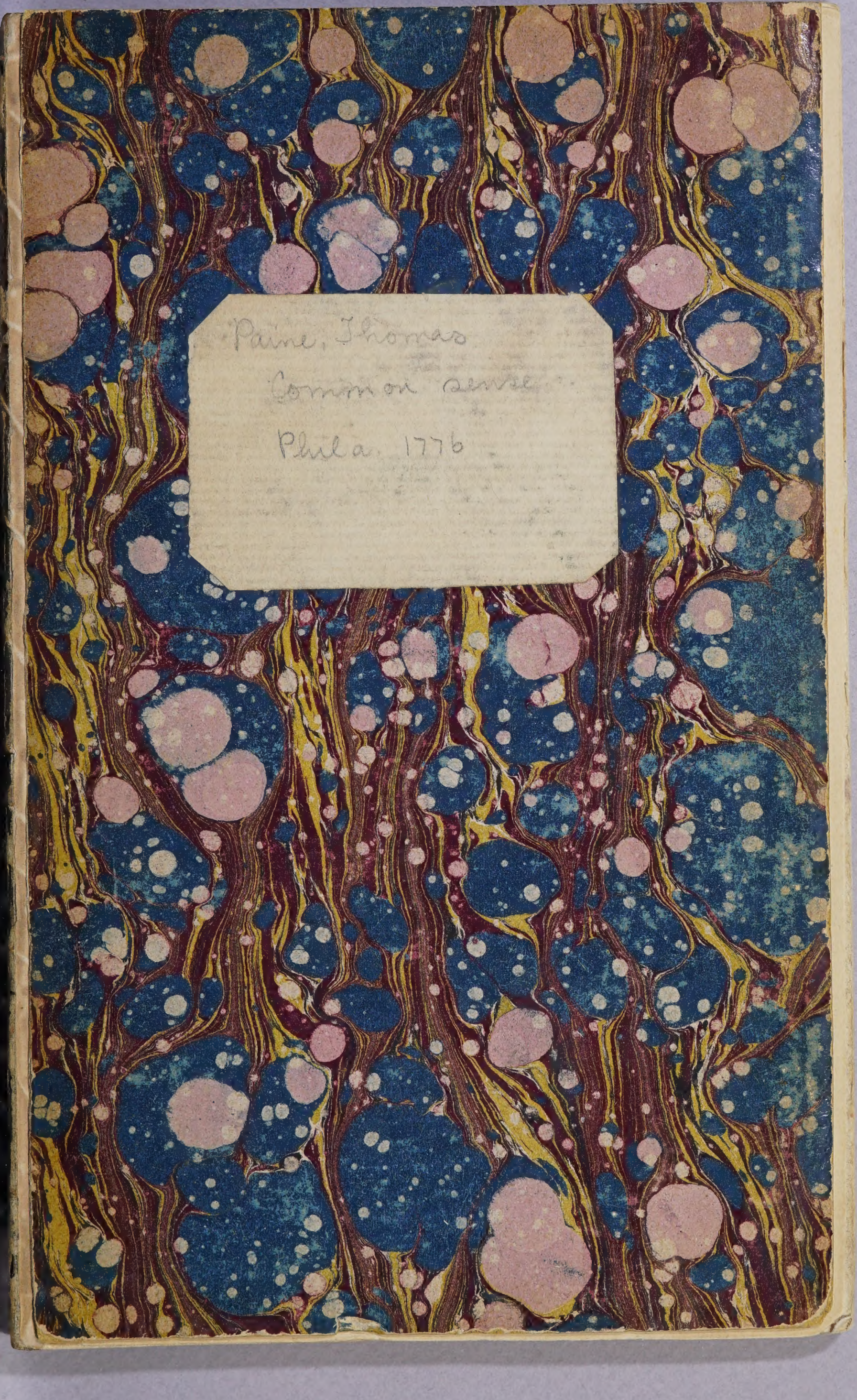

Paine, Thomas
Common sense
Phila. 1776

A42C

Edition unknown to
Evans Sabin, Hildeburn

CS-8

76: A42c

Thomas Paine

COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE
INHABITANTS
OF
AMERICA,
On the following intereſting
SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general, with conciſe Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion.

III. Thoughts on the preſent State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the preſent Ability of America, with ſome miſcellaneous Reflections.

Written by an ENGLISHMAN.

Man knows no Maſter ſave creating HEAVEN,
Or thoſe whom choice and common good ordain.
THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA, Printed.
And Sold by R. BELL, in Third-Street, 1776.

RP JCE

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the Sentiments contained in the following Pages, are not *yet* ſufficiently faſhionable to procure them general favor; a long habit of not thinking a Thing *wrong*, gives it a ſuperficial appearance of being *right*, and raiſes at firſt a formidable outcry in defence of Cuſtom. But the tumult ſoon ſubſides. Time makes more converts than Reaſon.

As a long and violent abuſe of Power, is generally the means of calling the right of it in queſtion (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the Sufferers been aggravated into the enquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his *own right*, to ſupport the Parliament in what he calls *theirs*, and as the good People of this Country are grievouſly oppreſſed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to enquire into the pretenſions of both, and equally to reject the uſurpation of either.

INTRODUCTION.

In the following Sheets, the Author hath ſtudiouſly avoided every thing which is perſonal among ourſelves. Compliments as well as Cenſure to individuals make no part thereof. The wiſe and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and thoſe whoſe ſentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ceaſe of themſelves, unleſs too much pains are beſtowed upon their converſion.

The cauſe of America is in a great meaſure the cauſe of all mankind. Many circumſtances have, and will ariſe, which are not local, but univerſal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which, their affections are intereſted. The laying a country deſolate with fire and ſword, declaring war againſt the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which claſs, regardleſs of party cenſure, is the

AUTHOR.

COMMON SENSE.

Of the Origin and Deſign of Government *in general, with conciſe Remarks on the* Engliſh Conſtitution.

SOME Writers have ſo confounded Society with government, as to leave little or no diſtinction between them; whereas, they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedneſs; the former promotes our happineſs *poſſitively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by reſtraining our vices. The one encourages intercourſe, the other creates diſtinctions. The firſt is a patron, the laſt a puniſher.

Society in every ſtate is a bleſſing, but Government even in its beſt ſtate is but a neceſſary evil; in its worſt ſtate an intolerable one: for when we ſuffer, or are expoſed to the ſame miſeries *by a Government*, which we might expect in a country *without Government*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furniſh the means by which we ſuffer. Government like dreſs is the badge of loſt innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradiſe. For were the impulſes of conſcience clear, uniform, and irreſiſtibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the caſe, he finds it neceſſary to ſurrender up a part of his property to furniſh means for the protection of the reſt; and this he is induced to do by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe adviſes him, out of two evils to chooſe the leaſt. *Wherefore*, ſecurity being the true deſign and end of government, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears moſt likely to enſure it to us, with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of government, let us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtered part of the earth unconnected with the reſt; they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country, or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, ſociety will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto, the ſtrength of one man is ſo unequal to his wants and his mind ſo unfitted for perpetual ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the ſame. Four or five united would be able to raiſe a tolerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs, but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſe, nay even misfortune would be death; for tho' neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh, than to die.

Thus neceſſity like a gravitating power would ſoon form our newly arrived emigrants into ſociety, the reciprocal bleſſings of which would ſuperſede, and render the obligations of law and government unneceſſary, while they remained perfectly juſt to each other: but as nothing but Heaven is impregnable to vice it will unavoidable happen that in proportion as they ſurmount the firſt difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cauſe, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other: and this remiſſneſs will point out the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government to ſupply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient Tree will afford them a State-Houſe, under the branches of which the whole Colony may aſſemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their firſt laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS, and to be enforced by no other penalty than public diſeſteem. In this firſt parliament every man by natural right will have a ſeat.

But as the colony encreaſes, the public concerns will encreaſe likewiſe, and the diſtance at which the members may be ſeparated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occaſion as at firſt, when their number was ſmall, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their conſenting to leave the legiſlative part to be managed by a ſelect number choſen from the whole body, who are ſuppoſed to have the ſame concerns at ſtake which thoſe have who appointed them, and will act in the ſame manner as the whole body would act were they preſent. If the colony continues encreaſing, it will become neceſſary to augment the number of the repreſentatives, and that the intereſt of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found beſt to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part ſending its proper number: and that the *elected* might never form to themſelves an intereſt ſeperate from the electors, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often: becauſe as the elected might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the electors in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be ſecured by the prudent reflexion of not making a rod for themſelves. And as this frequent interchange will eſtabliſh a common intereſt with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally ſupport each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *ſtrength of Government; and the happineſs of the governed.*

Here then is the origin and riſe of government; namely, a mode rendered neceſſary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the deſign and end of government, viz. freedom and ſecurity. And however our eyes may be dazzled with ſhow, or our ears deceived by ſound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or intereſt darken our underſtanding, the ſimple voice of nature and of reaſon will ſay, 'tis right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature which no art can overturn, viz. that the more ſimple any thing is the leſs liable is it to be diſordered; and with this maxim in view I offer a few remarks on the ſo much boaſted conſtitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and ſlaviſh times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with tyranny the leaſt remove therefrom was a glorious reſcue. But that it is imperfect, ſubject to convulſions, and incapable of producing what it ſeemed to promiſe is eaſily demonſtrated.

Abſolute governments, (tho' the diſgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are ſimple; if the people ſuffer, they know the head from which their ſuffering ſprings; know likewiſe the remedy; and are not bewildered by a variety of cauſes and cures. But the conſtitution of England is ſo exceedingly complex, that the nation may ſuffer for years together without being able to diſcover in which part the fault lies, ſome will ſay in one and ſome in another, and every political phyſician will adviſe a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long ſtanding prejudices, yet if we will ſuffer ourſelves to examine the component parts of the Engliſh conſtitution, we ſhall find them to be the baſe remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with ſome new Republican materials.

Firſt.—The remains of Monarchical tyranny in the perſon of the King.

Secondly.—The remains of Ariſtocratical tyranny in the perſons of the Peers.

Thirdly.—The new republican materials, in the perſons of the Commons, on whoſe virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two firſt by being hereditary are independent of the People; wherefore in a *conſtitutional ſenſe* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the State.

To ſay that the conſtitution of England is an *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical; either the words have no meaning or they are flat contradictions.

To ſay that the Commons are a check upon the King, preſuppoſes two things.

Firſt.—That the King is not to be truſted without being looked after; or in other words, that a thirſt for abſolute power is the natural diſeaſe of Monarchy.

Secondly.—That the Commons by being appointed for that purpoſe, are either wiſer or more worthy of confidence than the Crown.

But as the ſame conſtitution which gives the Commons a power to check the King by with-holding the ſupplies, gives afterwards the King a power to check the Commons by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again ſuppoſes that the King is wiſer than thoſe, whom it has already ſuppoſed to be wiſer than him. A mere abſurdity!

There is ſomething exceedingly ridiculous in the compoſition of Monarchy, it firſt excludes a man from the means of information yet empowers him to act in caſes where the higheſt judgment is required.—The ſtate of a King ſhuts him from the World; yet the buſineſs of a King requires him to know it thoroughly: wherefore, the different parts by unnaturally oppoſing and deſtroying each other, prove the whole character to be abſurd and uſeleſs.

Some writers have explained the Engliſh conſtitution thus; the King ſay they is one, the People another; the Peers are an houſe in behalf of the King; the Commons in behalf of the People; But this hath all the diſtinctions of an houſe divided againſt itſelf; and tho' the expreſſions be pleaſantly arranged, yet when examined they appear idle and ambiguous: and it will always happen, that the niceſt conſtruction that words are capable of, when applied to the deſcription of ſome thing which either cannot exiſt, or is too incomprehenſible to be within the compaſs of deſcription, will be words of ſound only, and tho' they may amuſe the ear, they cannot inform the mind: for this explanation includes a previous queſtion, viz. *how came the King by a power which the People are afraid to truſt and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wiſe People, neither can any Power *which needs checking* be from God: yet the proviſion which the conſtitution makes, ſuppoſes ſuch a power to exiſt.

But the proviſion is unequal to the taſk, the means either cannot, or will not accompliſh the end, and the whole affair is a *Felo de ſe*: for as the greater weight will always carry up the leſs, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the conſtitution has the moſt weight, for that will govern: and tho' the others, or a part of them, may clog, or check the rapidity of its motion, yet ſo long as they cannot ſtop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual: the firſt moving power will at laſt have its way, and what it wants in ſpeed will be ſupplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the Engliſh conſtitution needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole conſequence merely from being the giver of places and penſions is ſelf evident, wherefore, tho' we have been wiſe enough to lock the door againſt abſolute Monarchy, we at the ſame time have been fooliſh enough to put the Crown in poſſeſſion of the key.

The prejudice of Engliſhmen in favour of their own government by King, Lords and Commons, ariſes as much or more from national pride than reaſon. Individuals are undoubtedly ſafer in England than in ſome other Countries: but the *will* of the King is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that inſtead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the People under the more formidable ſhape of an act of Parliament. For the fate of Charles the firſt hath only made Kings more ſubtle—not more juſt.

Wherefore laying aſide all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the conſtitution of the People, and not to the conſtitution of the Government* that the Crown is not as oppreſſive in England as in Turkey.

An enquiry into the *conſtitutional errors* in the Engliſh form of government, is at this time highly neceſſary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing juſtice to others, while we continue under the influence of ſome leading partiality, ſo neither are we capable of doing it to ourſelves while we remain fettered by any obſtinate prejudice. And as a man who is attached to a proſtitute is unfitted to chooſe or judge of a wife, ſo any prepoſſeſſion in favour of a rotten conſtitution of government will diſable us from diſcerning a good one.

Of MONARCHY *and hereditary ſucceſſion.*

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtance: the diſtinctions of rich and poor may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh ill-ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice. Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches: and tho' avarice will preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater diſtinction for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned, and that is, the diſtinction of Men into KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature, good and bad the diſtinctions of Heaven; but how a race of Men came into the World ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or of miſery to mankind.

In the early ages of the World according to the Scripture chronology there were no Kings; the conſequence of which was there were no wars; it is the pride of Kings which throws mankind into confuſion. Holland without a King hath enjoyed more peace for this laſt century, than any of the Monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the firſt Patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

Government by Kings was firſt introduced into the World by the Heathens, from whom the children of Iſrael copied the cuſtom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the Devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honors to their deceaſed Kings, and the Chriſtian World hath improved on the plan by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of ſacred Majeſty applied to a worm, who in the midſt of his ſplendor is crumbling into duſt!

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt cannot be juſtified on the equal right of nature, ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expreſsly diſapproves of Government by Kings. All anti-monarchical parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of Countries which have their governments yet to form. "*Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's,*" is the ſcripture doctrine of Courts, yet it is no ſupport of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a King and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

Near three thouſand years paſſed away from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national deluſion requeſted a king. Till then, their form of government (except in extraordinary caſes where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of republic adminiſtred by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any Being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honour, ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of Heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

The children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army, and victory thro' the Divine interpoſition decided in his favour. The Jews elate with ſucceſs, and attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king; ſaying, *Rule thou over us, thou and thy ſon and thy ſon's ſon.* Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his ſoul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you.* THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not *decline* the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the poſitive ſtile of a prophet charges them with diſaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Heathens, is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons, who were entruſted with ſome ſecular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, ſaying, *behold thou art old, and thy ſons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be *like* unto other nations, *i. e.* the Heathens, whereas their their true glory lay in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel when they ſaid, give us a*

King to judge us: and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord ſaid unto Samuel, hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. *According to all the works which they have done ſince the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forſaken me and ſerved other Gods: ſo do they alſo unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, proteſt ſolemnly unto them and ſhew them the manner of the King that ſhall reign over them, i. e.* not of any particular King, but of the general manner of the Kings of the Earth whom Iſrael was ſo eargerly copying after. And notwithſtanding the great diſtance of time and difference of manners, the character is ſtill in faſhion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the People, that aſked of him a King. And he ſaid this ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall reign over you. He will take your ſons and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots and to be his horſe-men, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots.* (This deſcription agrees with the preſent mode of impreſſing men) *And he will appoint him captains over thouſands and captains over fifties, will ſet them to ear his ground and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of war, and inſtruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries and to be cooks, and to be bakers.* (This deſcribes the expence and luxury as well as the oppreſſion of Kings) *And he will take your fields and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants. And he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his ſervants.* (By which we ſee that bribery, corruption, and favouritiſm, are the ſtanding vices of Kings) *And he will take the tenth of your men ſervants, and your maid ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men and your aſſes, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your ſheep, and ye ſhall be his ſervants, and ye ſhall cry out in that day* *becauſe of your King which ye ſhall have choſen,* AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY. This accounts for the continuation of Monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good Kings which have lived ſince, either ſanctify the title, or blot out the ſinfulneſs of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him *officially as a King,* but only as a *Man* after God's own heart. *Nevertheleſs the People refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel, and they ſaid nay but we will have a King over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our King may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles.* Samuel continued to reaſon with them but to no purpoſe, he ſet before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail, and ſeeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord and he ſhall ſend thunder and rain* (which then was a puniſhment, being in the time of wheat harveſt) *that ye may perceive and ſee that your wickedneſs is great which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord,* IN ASKING YOU A KING. *So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord ſent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people ſaid unto Samuel, pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not, for* WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchical government is true, or the ſcripture is falſe. And a man hath good reaſon to believe that there is as much of king-craft as prieſt-craft, in with-holding the ſcripture from the public in popiſh countries. For monarchy in every inſtance is the popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion; and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves, ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on poſterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in preference to all others for ever, and tho' himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honours of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature diſapproves it, otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *aſs for a lion.*

Secondly, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honours than were beſtowed upon him, ſo the givers of thoſe honours could have no power to give away the right of poſterity, and though they might ſay, "we chooſe you for our head," they could not without manifeſt injuſtice to their children ſay "that your children and your children's children ſhall reign over our's forever." Becauſe ſuch an unwiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next ſucceſſion put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men in their private ſentiments have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils, which when once eſtabliſhed is not eaſily removed: many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the more powerful part ſhares with the king the plunder of the reſt.

This is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin: whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity and trace them to their firſt riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners or pre-eminence in ſubtilty obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increaſing in power and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceleſs to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendants, becauſe ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore hereditary ſucceſſion in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual or complimental; but as few or no records were extant in thoſe days, and traditionary hiſtory ſtuff'd with fables, it was very eaſy after the lapſe of a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatned, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leader and the choice of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at firſt to favor hereditary pretenſions; by which means it happened as it hath happened ſince, that what at firſt was ſubmitted to as a convenience was afterwards claimed as a right.

England ſince the conqueſt hath known ſome few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones: yet no man in his ſenſes can ſay that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French Baſtard landing with an armed Banditti and eſtabliſhing himſelf king of England againſt the conſent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry, raſcally original.—It certainly hath no divinity in it. However it is needleſs to expend much time in expoſing the folly of hereditary right, if there are any ſo weak as to believe it, let them promiſcuouſly worſhip the Aſs and Lion and welcome. I ſhall neither copy their humility nor diſturb their devotion.

Yet I ſhould be glad to aſk how they ſuppoſe Kings came at firſt? the queſtion admits but of three anſwers, viz. either by lot, by election, or by uſurpation. If the firſt king was taken by lot, it eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary ſucceſſion. Saul was by lot, yet the ſucceſſion was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that tranſaction there was any intention it ever ſhould. If the firſt king of any country was by election that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next; for to ſay that the right of all future generations is taken away by the act of the firſt electors in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of ſcripture but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will of all men loſt in Adam: and from ſuch compariſon, and it will admit of no other, hereditary right can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to ſovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from reaſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonourable rank! inglorious connection! yet the moſt ſubtle ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile.

As to uſurpation no man will be ſo hardy as to defend it; and that William the conqueror was an uſurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of Engliſh monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not ſo much the abſurdity as the evil of hereditary ſucceſſion which concerns mankind. Did it enſure a race of good and wiſe men it would have the ſeal of divine authority, but as it opens a door to the *fooliſh*, the *wicked* and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppreſſion. Men who look upon themſelves born to reign, and others to obey, ſoon grow inſolent—ſelected from the reſt of mankind their minds are eaſily poiſoned by importance; and the world they act in differs ſo very materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true intereſts, and when they ſucceed to the government are frequently the moſt ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that the throne is ſubject to be poſſeſſed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency acting under the cover of a king have every opportunity and inducement to betray their truſt. The ſame national misfortune happens when a king worn out with age and infirmity enters the laſt ſtage of human weakneſs. In both theſe caſes the public becomes a prey to every miſcreant who can tamper ſucceſsfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The moſt plauſible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that it preſerves a Nation from civil wars; and were this true it would be weighty; whereas it is the moſt barefaced falſity ever impoſed upon mankind. The whole hiſtory of England diſowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that diſtracted kingdom ſince the conqueſt, in which time there has been (including the Revolution) no leſs than eight civil wars and nineteen Rebellions. Wherefore inſtead of making for peace, it makes againſt it, and deſtroys the very foundation it ſeems to ſtand on.

The conteſt for monarchy and ſucceſſion between the houſes of York and Lancaſter laid England in a ſcene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles beſides ſkirmiſhes and ſieges were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry priſoner to Edward, who in his turn was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war and the temper of a Nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land. Yet as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne and Edward recalled to ſucceed him. The parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

This conteſt began in the reign of Henry the 6th, and was not entirely extinguiſhed till Henry the 7th, in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

In ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and aſhes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

If we enquire into the buſineſs of a King we ſhall find that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle round. In abſolute monarchies the whole weight of buſineſs civil and military lies on the King; the children of Iſrael in their requeſt for a King urged this plea "that he may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, as in England, a man would be puzzled to know what is his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic the leſs buſineſs there is for a King. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a Republic; but in its preſent ſtate it is unworthy of the name, becauſe the corrupt influence of the Crown by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the Houſe of Commons (the Republican part of the conſtitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them. For 'tis the republican and not the monarchical part of the conſtitution of England which Engliſhmen glory in, viz. the liberty of chooſing an houſe of commons from out of their own body—and it is eaſy to ſee that when republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues. Why is the conſtitution of England ſickly? but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic; the crown hath engroſſed the commons.

In England a King hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoveriſh the nation and ſet it together by the ears. A pretty buſineſs indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thouſand ſterling a year for, and worſhipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honeſt man to ſociety and in the ſight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

THOUGHTS on the preſent STATE of AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than ſimple facts, plain arguments, and common ſenſe: and have no other preliminaries to ſettle with the reader, than that he will diveſt himſelf of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, and ſuffer his reaſon and his feelings to determine for themſelves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man, and generouſly enlarge his views beyond the preſent day.

Volumes have been written on the ſubject of the ſtruggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controverſy, from different motives and with various deſigns; but all have been ineffectual and the period of debate is cloſed. Arms as the laſt reſource decide the conteſt; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the continent has accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able miniſter was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the Houſe of Commons on the ſcore that his meaſures were only of a temporary kind, replied, "*they will laſt my time.*" Should a thought ſo fatal and unmanly poſſeſs the Colonies in the preſent conteſt, the name of Anceſtors will be remembered by future generations with deteſtation.

The Sun never ſhined on a cauſe of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province or a Kingdom; but of a Continent—of at leaſt one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; poſterity are virtually involved in the conteſt, and will be more or leſs affected even to the end of time by the proceedings now. Now is the ſeed time of continental union, faith and honor. The leaſt fracture now, will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and poſterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is ſtruck—a new method of thinking hath ariſen. All plans, propoſals, &c. prior to the 19th of April, *i. e.* to the commencement of hoſtilities, are like the almanacks of the laſt year; which tho' proper then, are ſuperceded and uſeleſs now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either ſide of the queſtion then, terminated in one and the ſame point, viz. a union with Great Britain; the only difference between the parties, was the method of effecting it; the one propoſing force, the other friendſhip; but it hath ſo far happened that the firſt hath failed, and the ſecond hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been ſaid of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath paſſed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we ſhould examine the contrary ſide of the argument, and enquire into ſome of the many material injuries which theſe Colonies ſuſtain, and always will ſuſtain, by being connected with and dependant on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependance on the principles of nature and common ſenſe, to ſee what we have to truſt to if ſeparated, and what we are to expect if dependant.

I have heard it aſſerted by ſome, that as America hath flouriſhed under her former connection with Great Britain, that the ſame connection it neceſſary towards her future happineſs and will always have the ſame effect—Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument:—we may as well aſſert that becauſe a child hath thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the firſt twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I anſwer, roundly, that America would have flouriſhed as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which ſhe hath enriched herſelf are the neceſſaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the cuſtom of Europe.

But ſhe hath protected us, ſay ſome. That ſhe has engroſſed us is true, and defended the Continent at our expence as well as her own is admitted; and ſhe would have defended Turkey from the ſame motive, viz. the ſake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large ſacrifices to ſuperſtition. We have boaſted the protection of Great Britain, without conſidering, that her motive was *intereſt* not *attachment*; that ſhe did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on her *own account*, from thoſe who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *ſame account*. Let Britain wave her pretenſions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we ſhould be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miſeries of Hanover laſt war ought to warn us againſt connections.

It hath lately been aſſerted in Parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, *i. e.* that Pennſylvania and the Jerſeys and ſo on for the reſt, are ſiſter colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round about way of proving relationſhip, but it is the neareſt and only true way of proving enemyſhip, if I may ſo call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *ſubjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country ſay ſome. Then the more the ſhame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor ſavages make war upon their families; wherefore the aſſertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly ſo, and the phraſe, *parent* or *mother-country*, hath been jeſuitically adopted by the King and his paraſites, with a low papiſtical deſign of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakneſs of our minds. Europe and not England is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the aſylum for the perſecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monſter; and it is ſo far true of England, that the ſame tyranny which drove the firſt emigrants from home, purſues their deſcendants ſtill.

In this extenſive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and ſixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendſhip on a larger ſcale; we claim brotherhood with every European Chriſtian, and triumph in the generoſity of the ſentiment.

It is pleaſant to obſerve by what regular gradations we ſurmount the force of local prejudice as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into pariſhes, will naturally aſſociate moſt with his fellow pariſhioners (becauſe their intereſts in many caſes will be common) and diſtinguiſh him by the name of *neighbour*: if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a ſtreet, and ſalutes him by the name of *townſman*: if he travel out of the county and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor diviſions of ſtreet and town, and calls him *country-man*. i. e. *county-man*: but if in their foreign excurſions they ſhould aſſociate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Engliſhmen*. And by a juſt parity of reaſoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the Globe, are *countrymen*; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, ſtand in the ſame places on the larger ſcale, which the diviſions of ſtreet, town, and county do on the ſmaller one; Diſtinctions too limited for Continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of Engliſh deſcent. Wherefore, I reprobate the phraſe of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being falſe, ſelfiſh, narrow and ungenerous.

But admitting that we were all of Engliſh deſcent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain being now an open enemy, extinguiſhes every other name and title: and to ſay that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The firſt king of England, of the preſent line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are deſcendants from the ſame country; wherefore, by the ſame method of reaſoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been ſaid of the united ſtrength of Britain and the Colonies, that in conjunction, they might bid defiance to the world: But this is mere preſumption, the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expreſſions mean any thing, for this Continent would never ſuffer itſelf to be drained of inhabitants, to ſupport the Britiſh Arms in either Aſia, Africa, or Europe.

Beſides, what have we to do with ſetting the world at defiance. Our plan is commerce, and that well attended to, will ſecure us the peace and friendſhip of Europe, becauſe it is the intereſt of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenneſs of gold and ſilver will ſecure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmeſt advocate for reconciliation, to ſhew a ſingle advantage that this Continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a ſingle advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods muſt be paid for, buy them where we will.

But the injuries and diſadvantages we ſuſtain by that connection, are without number, and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourſelves, inſtruct us to renounce the alliance: Becauſe any ſubmiſſion to, or dependance on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this Continent in European wars and quarrels. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no political connections with any part of it. 'Tis the true intereſt of America, to ſteer clear of European contentions, which ſhe never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, ſhe is made the make-weight in the ſcale of Britiſh politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, *becauſe of her connection with Britain.* The next war may not turn out like the laſt, and ſhould it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wiſhing for ſeparation then, becauſe neutrality in that caſe, would be a ſafer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or reaſonable pleads for ſeparation. The blood of the ſlain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the diſtance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a ſtrong and natural proof, that the authority of the one over the other, was never the deſign of Heaven. The time likewiſe at which the Continent was diſcovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled encreaſes the force of it.——The Reformation was preceded by the diſcovery of America; as if the Almighty graciouſly meant to open a ſanctuary to the perſecuted in future years, when home ſhould afford neither friendſhip nor ſafety.

The authority of Great Britain over this Continent is a form of government which ſooner or later muſt have an end. And a ſerious mind can draw no true pleaſure by looking forward, under the painful and poſitive conviction, that what he calls " the preſent conſtitution," is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not ſufficiently laſting to enſure any thing which we may bequeath to poſterity : And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwiſe we uſe them meanly and pitifully. In order to diſcover the line of our duty rightly, we ſhould take our children in our hand, and fix our ſtation a few years farther into life ; that eminence will preſent a proſpect, which a few preſent fears and prejudices conceal from our ſight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unneceſſary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all thoſe who eſpouſe the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following deſcriptions. Intereſted men who are not to be truſted, weak men who *cannot* ſee, prejudiced men who *will not* ſee, and a certain ſet of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deſerves; and this laſt claſs, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cauſe of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live diſtant from the ſcene of preſent ſorrow; the evil is not ſufficiently brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precariouſneſs with which all American property is poſſeſſed. But let our imaginations tranſport us for a few moments to Boſton; that ſeat of wretchedneſs will teach us wiſdom, and inſtruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no truſt. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in eaſe and affluence, have now no other alternative than to ſtay and ſtarve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by government if they leave it. In their preſent condition they are priſoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be expoſed to the fury of both armies.

Men of paſſive tempers look ſomewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and ſtill hoping for the beſt, are apt to call out. *Come, come, we ſhall be friends again for all this.* But examine the paſſions and feelings of mankind; Bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchſtone of nature, and then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully ſerve the power that hath carried fire and ſword into your land? If you cannot do all theſe, then are you only deceiving yourſelves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon poſterity. Your future connection with Britain whom you can neither love nor honor, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of preſent convenience, will in a little time, fall into a relapſe more wretched than the firſt. But if you ſay, you can ſtill paſs the violations over, then I aſk, Hath your houſe been burnt? Hath your property been deſtroyed before your face? Are your wife and children deſtitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you loſt a parent or a child by their hands and yourſelf the ruined and wretched ſurvivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of thoſe who have. But if you have, and ſtill can ſhake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of huſband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the ſpirit of a ſycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by thoſe feelings and affections which nature juſtifies, and without which, we ſhould be incapable of diſcharging the ſocial duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpoſe of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly ſlumbers, that we may purſue determinately ſome fixed object. 'Tis not in the power of England or of Europe to conquer America, if ſhe doth not conquer herſelf by *delay* and *timidity*. The preſent winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if loſt or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no puniſhment which that man doth not deſerve, be he who, or what or where he will, that may be the means of ſacrificing a ſeaſon ſo precious and uſeful.

'Tis repugnant to reaſon, to the univerſal order of things; to all examples from former ages, to ſuppoſe, that this continent can long remain ſubject to any external power. The moſt ſanguine in Britain doth not think ſo. The utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom cannot, at this time, compaſs a plan, ſhort of ſeparation, which can promiſe the continent even a year's ſecurity. Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deſerted the connection, and art cannot ſupply her place. For as Milton wiſely expreſſes "never can true reconcilement grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced ſo deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with diſdain; and hath tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obſtinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more, than that very meaſure, to make the Kings of Europe abſolute. Witneſs Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, ſince nothing but blows will do, for God's ſake let us come to a final ſeparation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To ſay they will never attempt it again, is idle and viſionary, we thought ſo at the repeal of the ſtamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we ſuppoſe that nations which have been once defeated will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, 'tis not in the power of Britain to do the Continent juſtice: The buſineſs of it will ſoon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power ſo diſtant from us, and ſo very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thouſand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an anſwer, which when obtained requires five or ſix more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childiſhneſs—— There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to ceaſe.

Small iſlands not capable of protecting themſelves, are the proper objects for government to take under their care; but there is ſomething very abſurd in ſuppoſing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an iſland. In no inſtance hath nature made the ſatellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with reſpect to each other, reverſe the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different ſyſtems. England to Europe: America to itſelf.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party or reſentment to eſpouſe the doctrine of ſeparation and independance; I am clearly, poſitively, and conſcientiouſly perſuaded that 'tis the true intereſt of this continent to be ſo; that every thing ſhort of that is mere patchwork, that it can afford no laſting felicity—that it is leaving the ſword to our children, and ſhrinking back at a time, when a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifeſted the leaſt inclination towards a compromiſe, we may be aſſured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treaſure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear ſome juſt proportion to the expence. The removal of North, or the whole deteſtable junto, is a matter unworthy of the millions we have expended. A temporary ſtoppage of trade was an inconvenience, which would have ſufficiently ballanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had ſuch repeals been obtained; but if the whole Continent muſt take up arms, if every man muſt be a ſoldier, 'tis ſcarcely worth our while to fight againſt a contemptible miniſtry only. Dearly, dearly do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a juſt eſtimation, 'tis as great a folly to pay a bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always conſidered the independancy of this Continent as an event which ſooner or later muſt arrive, ſo from the late rapid progreſs of the Continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore on the breaking out of hoſtilities, it was not worth the while to have diſputed a matter, which time would have finally redreſſed, unleſs we meant to be in earneſt: otherwiſe it is like waſting an eſtate on a ſuit at law, to regulate the treſpaſſes of a tenant, whoſe leaſe is juſt expiring. No man was a warmer wiſher for reconciliation than myſelf, before the fatal 19th of April 1755, but the moment the event of that day wasmade known rejected the hardened, ſullen tempered Pharaoh of Engand forever; and diſdain the wretch, that with the pretendd title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their ſlaughter, and compoſedly ſleep with their blood upon his ſoul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the the event? I anſwer, the ruin of the Coninent. And that for ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt. The powers of governing ſtill remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legiſlation of this Continent: And as he hath ſhewn himſelf ſuch an inveterate enemy to liberty, and diſcovered ſuch a thirſt for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper man to ſay to theſe Colonies, *You ſhall make no laws but what I pleaſe.* And is there any inhabitant in America ſo ignorant, as not to know that according to what is called the *preſent conſtitution,* that this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man ſo unwiſe, as not to ſee, that (conſidering what has happened) he will ſuffer no laws to be made here, but ſuch as ſuit his purpoſe. We may be as effectually enſlaved by the want of laws in America, as by ſubmitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up, (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this Continent as low and humble as poſſible? Inſtead of going forward, we ſhall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculouſly petitioning.— We are already greater than the King wiſhes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavour to make us leſs. To bring the matter to one point, is the power who is jealous of our proſperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever ſays *No* to this queſtion is an *Independant,* for independency means no more than whether we ſhall make our own laws, or, whether the King, the greateſt enemy this Continent hath, or can have, ſhall tell us "*there ſhall be no laws but ſuch* "*as I like.*"

But the King you'll ſay hath a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his conſent. In point of right and good order, there is ſomething very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) ſhall ſay to ſix millions of people older and wiſer than himſelf, "I forbid this or that act of yours to be law." But in this place I decline this ſort of reply, tho' I will never ceaſe to expoſe the abſurdity of it, and only anſwer, that England being the King's reſidence, and America not ſo, makes quite another caſe. The King's negative here is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for *there* he will ſcarcely refuſe his conſent to a bill for putting England into as ſtrong a ſtate of defence as poſſible, and here he would never ſuffer ſuch a bill to be paſſed.

America is only a ſecondary object in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics, England conſults the good of *this* country, no farther than it anſwers her *own* purpoſe. Wherefore her own intereſt leads her to ſuppreſs the growth of *ours* in every caſe which doth not promote *her* advantage, or in the leaſt interferes with it. A pretty ſtate we ſhould ſoon be in, under ſuch a ſecond-hand government, conſidering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to ſhew that reconciliation *now* is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, *that it would be policy in the King at this time, to repeal the acts for the ſake of reinſtating himſelf in the government of the provinces;* in order that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTILTY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

Secondly.—That as even the beſt terms which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianſhip, which can laſt no longer than till the Colonies come of age, ſo the general face and ſtate of things in the interim will be unſettled and unpromiſing: Emigrants of property will not chooſe to come to a country whoſe form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and diſturbance: And numbers of the preſent inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to diſpoſe of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the moſt powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance, i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preſerve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain *now*, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt ſome where or other, the conſequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thouſands are already ruined by Britiſh barbarity; (thouſands more will probably ſuffer the ſame fate;) Thoſe men have other feelings than us who have nothing ſuffered. All they *now* poſſeſs is liberty, what they before enjoyed is ſacrificed to its ſervice and having nothing more to loſe, they diſdain ſubmiſſion. Beſides, the general temper of the colonies towards a Britiſh government, will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her: And a government which cannot preſerve the peace, is no government at all, and in that caſe we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whoſe power will be wholly on paper, ſhould a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard ſome men ſay, many of whom I believe ſpoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independance, fearing that it would produce civil wars: It is but ſeldom that our firſt thoughts are truly correct, and that is the caſe here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection, than from independance. I make the ſufferers caſe my own, and I proteſt, that were I driven from houſe and home, my property deſtroyed, and my circumſtances ruined, that as a man ſenſible of injuries, I could never reliſh the doctrine of reconciliation, or conſider myſelf bound thereby.

The colonies have manifeſted ſuch a ſpirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is ſufficient to make every reaſonable perſon eaſy and happy on that head. No man can aſſign the leaſt pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, than ſuch as are truly childiſh and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be ſtriving for ſuperiority over another.

Where there are no diſtinctions, there can be no ſuperiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all, (and we may ſay always) in peace. Holland and Swiſſerland, are without wars foreign or domeſtic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at reſt; the crown itſelf is a temptation to enterpriſing ruffians at *home*; and that degree of pride and inſolence ever attendant on regal authority, ſwells into a rupture with foreign powers in inſtances, where a republican government by being formed on more natural principles, would negociate the miſtake.

If there is any true cauſe for fear reſpecting independance, it is becauſe no plan is yet laid down. Men do not ſee their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that buſineſs I offer the following hints; at the ſame time modeſtly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myſelf, than that they may be the means of giving riſe to ſomething better. Could the ſtraggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wiſe and able men to improve into uſeful matter.

LET the aſſemblies be annual with a preſident only. The repreſentation more equal. Their buſineſs wholly domeſtic, and ſubject to the authority of a Continental Congreſs.

Let each Colony be divided into ſix, eight, or ten convenient diſtricts, each diſtrict to ſend a proper number of Delegates to Congreſs, ſo that each Colony ſend at leaſt thirty. The whole number in Congreſs will be at leaſt 390. Each Congreſs to ſit   and to chooſe a preſident by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the whole Congreſs chooſe (by ballot) a preſident from out of the Delegates of that province. In the next Congreſs let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the preſident was taken in the former Congreſs, and ſo proceeding on till the whole thireen ſhall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may paſs into a law but what is ſatisfactorily juſt, not leſs than three fifths of the Congreſs to be called a majority.—He that will promote diſcord under a government ſo equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner, this buſineſs muſt firſt ariſe, and as it ſeems moſt agrreeable and conſiſtent, that it ſhould come from ſome intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is between the Congreſs and the People. Let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held in the following manner, and for the following purpoſe.

A Committee of twenty ſix members of Congreſs, viz. Two for each Colony. Two members from each houſe of Aſſembly, or Provincial convention; and five Repreſentatives of the people at large, to be choſen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as ſhall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpoſe; or if more convenient, the Repreſentatives may be choſen in two or three of the moſt populous parts thereof. In this CONFERENCE thus aſſembled, will be united the two grand principles of buſineſs, *knowledge* and *power*. The members of Congreſs, Aſſemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and uſeful counſellors, and the whole, by being impowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring Members being met, let their buſineſs be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (anſwering, to what is called the Magna

Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of chooſing members of Congreſs, members of Aſſembly, with their date of ſitting, and drawing the line of buſineſs and juriſdiction between them: Always remembering, that our ſtrength and happineſs, is continental not provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exerciſe of religion, according to the dictates of conſcience; with ſuch other matters as is neceſſary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the ſaid conference to diſſolve, and the bodies which ſhall be choſen conformable to the ſaid charter, to be the Legiſlators and Governors of this Continent, for the time being: Whoſe peace and happineſs may God preſerve. AMEN.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or ſome ſimilar purpoſe, I offer them the following extracts from that wiſe obſerver on governments DRAGONETTI. "The ſcience" ſays he "of the Politician conſiſts in fixing "the true point of happineſs and freedom. Thoſe men "would deſerve the gratitude of ages, who ſhould diſcover a "mode of government that contained the greateſt ſum of "individual happineſs, with the leaſt national expence."

DRAGONETTI on Rewards and Virtue.

But where, ſay ſome, is the King of America? I'll tell you Friend, he reigns above; and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be ſolemnly ſet apart for proclaiming the Charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a Crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that ſo far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in abſolute governments the King is law, ſo in free countries the law *ought* to be King, and there ought to be no other. But leſt any ill uſe ſhould afterwards ariſe, let the Crown at the concluſion of the ceremony be demoliſhed, and ſcattered among the People whoſe right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the precariouſneſs of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiſer and ſafer, to form a conſtitution of our own, in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our own power, than to truſt ſuch an intereſting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, ſome *Maſſanello may hereafter ariſe, who laying hold of popular diſquietudes, may collect together the deſperate and the diſcontented, and by aſſuming to themſelves the powers of government, may ſweep away the liberties of the Continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering ſituation of things will be a temptation for ſome deſperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in ſuch a caſe, what relief can Britain give? Ere ſhe could hear the news, the fatal buſineſs might be done; and ourſelves ſuffering like the wretched Britons under the oppreſſion of the Conqueror. Ye that oppoſe independance now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the ſeat of government. There are thouſands, and tens of thouſands, who would think it glorious to expel from the Continent that barbarous and helliſh power, which hath ſtirred up the Indians and the Negroes to deſtroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us and treacherouſly by them.

To talk of friendſhip with thoſe in whom our reaſon forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded thro' a thouſand pores inſtruct us to deteſt, is madneſs and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reaſon to hope, that as the relationſhip expires, the affection will encreaſe, or that we ſhall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye

---

* Thomas Anello, otherwiſe Maſſanello, a fiſherman of Naples, who after ſpiriting up his countrymen in the public market-place, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then ſubject, prompted them to revolt, and in the ſpace of a day became King.

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye reſtore to us the time that is paſt? Can ye give to proſtitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The laſt cord is now broken, the people of England are preſenting addreſſes againſt us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; ſhe would ceaſe to be nature if ſhe did. As well can the lover forgive the raviſher of his miſtreſs, as the Continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us theſe unextinguiſhable feelings for good and wiſe purpoſes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They diſtinguiſh us from the herd of common animals. The ſocial compact would diſſolve, and juſtice be extirpated the earth, or have only a caſual exiſtence, were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often eſcape unpuniſhed, did not the injuries which our tempers ſuſtain, provoke us into juſtice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppoſe not only the tyranny but the tyrant, ſtand forth! Every ſpot of the old world is over-run with oppreſſion. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Aſia and Africa have long expelled her.—Europe regards her like a ſtranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an aſylum for mankind.

Of the PRESENT ABILITY of AMERICA, with ſome MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS.

I Have never met with a man either in England or America, who hath not confeſſed his opinion, that a ſeparation between the countries would take place, one time or other: And there is no inſtance, in which we have ſhewn leſs judgment; than in endeavouring to deſcribe what we call the ripeneſs or fitneſs of the Continent for independance.

As all men allow the meaſure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove miſtakes, take a general ſurvey of things, and endeavour if poſſible, to find out the very time. But I need not go far, the enquiry ceaſes at once, for the *time hath found us.* The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things, prove the fact.

'Tis not in the numbers but in unity that our great ſtrength lies: yet our preſent numbers are ſufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath at this time the largeſt diſciplined army of any power under Heaven: and is juſt arrived at that pitch of ſtrength, in which no ſingle Colony is able to ſupport itſelf, and the whole, when united, is able to do any thing. Our land force is more than ſufficient, and as to navy affairs, we cannot be inſenſible that Britain would never ſuffer an American man of war to be built, while the Continent remained in her hands. Wherefore, we ſhould be no forwarder an hundred years hence, in that branch than we are now; but the truth is, we ſhould be leſs ſo, becauſe the timber of the country is every day diminiſhing.

Were the Continent crowded with inhabitants, her ſufferings under the preſent circumſtances would be intolerable. The more ſea-port towns we had, the more ſhould we have both to defend and to loſe. Our preſent numbers are ſo happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the neceſſities of an army create a new trade.

Debts we have none: and whatever we may contract on this account will ſerve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave poſterity with a ſettled form of government, an independant conſtitution of its own, the purchaſe at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the ſake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the preſent miniſtry only, is unworthy of the charge, and is uſing poſterity with the utmoſt cruelty; becauſe it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honour, and is the true characteriſtic of a narrow heart and a pidling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deſerve our regard if the work be but accompliſhed. No nation ought to be without a debt. A national debt is a national bond; and when it bears no intereſt, is in no caſe a grievance. Britain is oppreſſed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and forty millions ſterling, for which ſhe pays upwards of four millions intereſt. And as a compenſation for her debt, ſhe has a large navy: America is without a debt, and without a navy; but for the twentieth part of the Engliſh national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth at this time more than three millions and an half ſterling.

No country on the globe is ſo happily ſituated, or ſo internally capable of raiſing a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ſhips of war to the Spaniards and Portugueſe, are obliged to import moſt of the materials they uſe. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. 'Tis the beſt money we can lay out. A navy when finiſhed is worth more than it coſt: And is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can ſell, and by that means re-place our paper currency with ready gold and ſilver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not neceſſary that one fourth part ſhould be ſailors. The Terrible privateer, Capt. Death, ſtood the hotteſt engagement of any ſhip laſt war, yet had not twenty ſailors on board, though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and ſocial ſailors will ſoon inſtruct a ſufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ſhip. Wherefore we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now, while our timber is ſtanding, our fiſheries blocked up, and our ſailors and ſhipwrights out of employ. Men of war of ſeventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New England, and why not the ſame now? Ship building is America's greateſt pride, and in which, ſhe will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the Eaſt are moſtly inland and conſequently excluded from the poſſibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a ſtate of barbariſm; and no power in Europe, hath either ſuch an extent of coaſt, or ſuch an internal ſupply of materials. Where nature hath given the one ſhe has with-held the other; to America only hath ſhe been liberal of both. The vaſt empire of Ruſſia is almoſt ſhut out from the ſea; wherefore, her boundleſs forreſts, her tar, iron, and cordage are only articles of commerce.

In point of ſafety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were ſixty years ago, at that time we might have truſted our property in the ſtreets, or fields rather, and ſlept ſecurely without locks or bolts to our doors and windows. The caſe now is altered, and our methods of defence, ought to improve with our increaſe of property. A common pirate twelve months ago might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under inſtant contribution for what ſum he pleaſed, and the ſame might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow in a brig of 14 or 16 guns might have robbed the whole continent, and carried off half a million of money. Theſe are circumſtances which demand our attention and point out the neceſſity of naval protection.

Some perhaps will ſay, that after we have made it up with Britain that ſhe will protect us. Can we be ſo unwiſe as to mean that ſhe ſhall keep a navy in our harbours for that purpoſe? Common ſenſe will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to ſubdue us, is of all others, the moſt improper to defend us. Conqueſt may be effected under the pretence of friendſhip; and ourſelves after a long and brave reſiſtance, be at laſt cheated into ſlavery. And if her ſhips are not to be admitted into our harbours, I would aſk, how is ſhe to protect us? A navy three or four thouſand miles off can be of little uſe, and on ſudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore if we muſt hereafter protect ourſelves, why not do it for ourſelves? why do it for another?

The Engliſh liſt of ſhips of war, is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for ſervice, numbers of them not in being; yet their names are pompouſly continued in the liſt if only a plank is left of the ſhip: and not a fifth part of ſuch as are fit for ſervice, can be ſpared on any one ſtation at one time. The Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a falſe notion reſpecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we ſhould have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reaſon, ſuppoſed, that we muſt have one as large; which not being inſtantly practicable, hath been made uſe of by a ſet of diſguiſed tories to diſcourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this, for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, ſhe would be by far an over match for her; becauſe as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force would be employed on our own coaſt, where we ſhould, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of thoſe who had three or four thouſand miles to ſail over, before they could attack us, and the ſame diſtance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain by her fleet hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the Weſt Indies, which by laying in the neighbourhood of the Continent lies entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we ſhould not judge it neceſſary to ſupport a conſtant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants to build and employ in their ſervice, ſhips mounted with 20, 30, 40 or 50 guns (the premiums to be in proportion

portion to the loſs of bulk to the merchant) fifty or ſixty of thoſe ſhips, with a few guard ſhips on conſtant duty would keep up a ſufficient navy, and that without burdening ourſelves with the evil ſo loudly complained of in England, of ſuffering their fleets in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the ſinews of commerce and defence is ſound policy; for when our ſtrength and our riches play into each other's hand we need fear no external enemy.

In almoſt every article of defence we abound. Hemp flouriſhes even to rankneſs, ſo that we need not want cordage. Our iron is ſuperior to that of other countries. Our ſmall arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can caſt at pleaſure. Salt-petre and gun-powder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Reſolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forſaken us. Wherefore what is it that we want? Why is it that we heſitate? From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If ſhe is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealouſies will be always ariſing; inſurrections will be conſtantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience; the difference between Pennſylvania and Connecticut, reſpecting ſome unlocated lands, ſhews the inſignificance of a Britiſh government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reaſon why the preſent time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which inſtead of being laviſhed by the king on his worthleſs dependants, may be hereafter applied, not only to the diſcharge of the preſent debt, but to the conſtant ſupport of government. No nation under Heaven hath ſuch an advantage as this.

The infant ſtate of the Colonies, as it is called, ſo far from being againſt is an argument in favour of independance. We are ſufficiently numerous, and were we more ſo we might be leſs united. 'Tis a matter worthy of obſervation, that the more a country is peopled, the ſmaller their armies are. In military numbers the ancients far exceeded the moderns: and the reaſon is evident, for trade being the conſequence of population, men become too much abſorbed thereby to attend to any thing elſe. Commerce diminiſhes the ſpirit both of Patriotiſm and of military defence. And hiſtory ſufficiently informs us that the braveſt atchievements were always accompliſhed in the non-age of a nation. With the encreaſe of commerce England hath loſt its ſpirit. The more men have to loſe, the leſs willing are they to venture. The rich are in general ſlaves to fear, and ſubmit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a ſpaniel.

Youth is the ſeed time of good habits as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impoſſible to form the Continent into one Government half a century hence. The vaſt variety of intereſts occaſioned by an increaſe of trade and population, would create confuſion. Colony would be againſt Colony. Each being able would ſcorn each others aſſiſtance: and while the proud and fooliſh gloried in their little diſtinctions, the wiſe would lament that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the preſent time is the true time for eſtabliſhing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendſhip which is formed in misfortune, are of all others, the moſt laſting and unalterable. Our preſent union is marked with both theſe characters: we are young, and we have been diſtreſſed; but our concord hath withſtood our troubles, and fixes a memorable Æra for poſterity to glory in.

The preſent time likewiſe, is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itſelf into a government. Moſt nations have let ſlip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, inſtead of making laws for themſelves. Firſt they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas the articles or charter of government ſhould be formed firſt, and men delegated to execute them afterward; but from the errors of other nations let us learn wiſdom, and lay hold of the preſent opportunity——*To begin Government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror ſubdued England, he gave them law at the point of the ſword; and until we conſent that the ſeat of government in America be legally and authoritatively filled, we ſhall be in danger of having it filled by ſome fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the ſame manner, and then, where will be our freedom? where our property?

As to religion, I hold it to be the indiſpenſible duty of government to protect all conſcientious profeſſors thereof, and I know of no other buſineſs which government hath to do therewith: let a man throw aſide that narrowneſs of ſoul, that ſelfiſhneſs of principle, which the niggards of all profeſſions are ſo unwilling to part with, and he will be delivered from his fears on that head. Suſpicion is the companion of mean ſouls and the bane of all good ſociety. For my ſelf, I fully and conſcientiouſly believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there ſhould be diverſity of religious opinions among us. It affords a large field for our chriſtian kindneſs; were we all of one way of thinking, our religious diſpoſitions would want matter for probation: and on this liberal principle I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the ſame family, differing only in what is called their chriſtian names.

In page 30 and 31 I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a continental charter, (for I only preſume to offer hints, not plans,) and in this place I take the liberty of re-mentioning the ſubject, by obſerving, that a charter is to be underſtood as a bond of ſolemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to ſupport the right of every ſeparate part, whether of religion, perſonal freedom, or property. A right reckoning makes long friends.

In a former page I likewiſe mentioned the neceſſity of a large and equal repreſentation; and there is no political matter which more deſerves our attention. A ſmall number of electors, or a ſmall number of repreſentatives are equally dangerous. But if the number of the repreſentatives be not only ſmall, but unequal, the danger is encreaſed. As an inſtance of this I mention the following; when the aſſociators petition was before the Houſe of Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, twenty eight members only were preſent. All the Bucks county members, being eight, voted againſt it, and had ſeven of the Cheſter members done the ſame, this whole Province had been governed by two counties only, and this danger it is always expoſed to. The unwarrantable ſtretch likewiſe, which that houſe made in their laſt ſitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that Province, ought to warn the people at large, how they truſt power out of their own hands. A ſet of inſtructions for the Delegates were put together, which in point of ſenſe and buſineſs would have diſhonour'd a ſchool-boy, and after being approved by a *few*, a *very few* without doors, were carried into the houſe, and there paſſed *in behalf of the whole Colony*: whereas did the whole Colony know, with what ill-will that houſe had entered on ſome neceſſary public meaſures, they would not heſitate a moment to think them unworthy of ſuch a truſt.

Immediate neceſſity makes many things convenient, which if continued would grow into oppreſſions. Expedience and right, are different things. When the calamities of America require a conſultation, there was no method ſo ready, or at that time ſo proper, as to appoint perſons from the ſeveral houſes of Aſſembly for that purpoſe; and the wiſdom with which they have proceeded hath preſerved this Continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we ſhall never be without a CONGRESS, every well wiſher to good order, muſt own, that the mode for chooſing members of that body, deſerves conſideration. And I put it as a queſtion to thoſe, who make a ſtudy of mankind, whether repreſentation and election is not too great a power for one and the ſame body of men to poſſeſs? When we are planning for poſterity, we ought to remember, that virtue is not hereditary.

It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently ſurpriſed into reaſon by their miſtakes. Mr. Cornwall (one of the Lords of the Treaſury) treated the petition of the New-York Aſſembly with contempt, becauſe that houſe, he ſaid, conſiſted but of twenty ſix members, which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honeſty. *

TO CONCLUDE, however ſtrange it may appear to ſome, or however unwilling they may be to think ſo, matters not, but many ſtrong and ſtriking reaſons may be given to ſhew, that nothing can ſettle our affairs ſo expeditiouſly as an open and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

Firſt.—It is the cuſtom of Nations, when any two are at war, for ſome other powers not engaged in the quarrel, to ſtep in as Mediators and bring about the Preliminaries of a Peace: but while America calls herſelf the Subject of Great Britain, no power, however well diſpoſed ſhe may be, can offer her Mediation: Wherefore in our preſent ſtate we may quarrel on for ever.

Secondly.—It is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that France or Spain will give us any kind of aſſiſtance, if we mean only to make uſe of that aſſiſtance, for the purpoſe of repairing the breach, and ſtrengthning the connection between Britain and America; becauſe, thoſe powers would be ſufferers by the conſequences.

---

* Thoſe who would fully underſtand of what great conſequence a large and equal repreſentation is to a State, ſhould read Burgh's political Diſquiſitions.

Thirdly.—While we profeſs ourſelves the Subjects of Britain, we muſt in the eye of foreign nations be conſidered as Rebels. The precedent is ſomewhat dangerous to *their peace*, for men to be in arms under the name of Subjects: we on the ſpot can ſolve the paradox; but to unite reſiſtance and ſubjection, requires an idea much too refined for common underſtanding.

Fourthly—Were a manifeſto to be publiſhed and diſpatched to foreign Courts, ſetting forth the miſeries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually uſed for redreſs, declaring at the ſame time, that not being able any longer to live happily or ſafely, under the cruel diſpoſition of the Britiſh Court, we had been driven to the neceſſity of breaking off all connections with her: at the ſame time, aſſuring all ſuch Courts of our peaceable diſpoſition towards them, and of our deſire of entering into trade with them: ſuch a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ſhip were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our preſent denomination of Britiſh Subjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad; the cuſtom of all Courts is againſt us, and will be ſo, until by an Independance we take rank with other Nations.

Theſe proceedings may at firſt appear ſtrange and difficult, but, like all other ſteps which we have already paſſed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable: and until an Independance is declared, the Continent will feel itſelf like a man who continues putting off ſome unpleaſant buſineſs from day to day, yet knows it muſt be done, hates to ſet about it, wiſhes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its neceſſity.

LARGE

LARGE
ADDITIONS
TO
COMMON SENSE;

Addreſſed to the Inhabitants of AMERICA,

On the following intereſting Subjects.

I. The American Patriot's Prayer.

II. American Independency defended, by Candidus.

III. The Propriety of Independency, by Demophilus.

> The dread of Tyrants, and the ſole reſource
> Of thoſe that under grim Oppreſſion groan.
>
> THOMPSON.

IV. A Review of the American Conteſt, with ſome Strictures on the King's Speech. Addreſſed to all Parents in the Thirteen United Colonies, by a Friend to Poſterity and Mankind.

V. Letter to Lord Dartmouth, by an Engliſh American.

VI. Obſervations on Lord North's Conciliatory Plan, by Sincerus.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Appendix to Common Senſe:

Together with an Addreſs to the People called Quakers, on their Teſtimony concerning Kings and Government, and the preſent Commotions in AMERICA.

The AMERICAN PATRIOT's Prayer.

PARENT of all, omnipotent
In heav'n, and earth below,
Thro' all creation's bounds unſpent,
Whoſe ſtreams of goodneſs flow.

Teach me to know from whence I roſe,
And unto what deſign'd;
No private aims let me propoſe,
Since link'd with human kind.

But chief to hear my country's voice,
May all my thoughts incline,
'Tis reaſon's law, 'tis virtue's choice,
'Tis nature's call and thine.

Me from fair freedom's ſacred cauſe,
Let nothing e'er divide;
Grandeur, nor gold, nor vain applauſe,
Nor friendſhip falſe miſguide.

Let me not faction's partial hate
Purſue to this land's woe;
Nor graſp the thunder of the ſtate,
To wound a private foe.

If, for the right, to wiſh the wrong,
My country ſhall combine,
Single to ſerve th' erroneous throng,
Spight of themſelves, be mine.

ADDITIONS to COMMON SENSE.

AMERICAN INDEPENDANCY *defended.*

WHEN the little pamphlet intitled COMMON SENSE firſt made its appearance in favor of that ſo often abjured idea of independance upon upon Great-Britain, I was informed that no leſs than three gentlemen of reſpectable abilities were engaged to anſwer it. As yet I have ſeen nothing which directly pretends to diſpute a ſingle poſition of the author. The oblique eſſay in Humphreys's paper, and ſolemn Teſtimony of the Quakers, however intended, having offered nothing to the purpoſe, I ſhall take leave to examine this important queſtion, with all candor and attention, and ſubmit the reſult to my much intereſted country.

Dependance of one man, or ſtate, upon another, is either abſolute, or limited by ſome certain terms of agreement. The dependance of theſe colonies which Great Britain calls *conſtitutional,* as declared by act of parliament, is abſolute. If the contrary of this be the bugbear ſo many have been declaiming againſt, I could wiſh my countrymen would conſider the conſequences of ſo ſtupid a profeſſion. If a limited dependance is intended, I would be much obliged to any one who will ſhew me the *Britanno American Magna Charta* wherein the terms of our limited dependance are preciſely ſtated. If no ſuch thing can be found, and *abſolute* dependance be accounted inadmiſſible, the ſound we are ſquabbling about has certainly no determinate meaning. If any ſay we mean that kind of dependance we acknowledged at and before the year 1763; I anſwer, *vague and uncertain laws, and more eſpecially* CONSTITUTIONS, are the very inſtruments of ſlavery. The Magna Charta of England was very explicit, conſidering the time it was formed, and yet much blood was ſpilt in diſputes concerning its meaning.

Beſides the danger of an indefinite dependance upon an undetermined power, it might be worth while to conſider what the characters are on whom we are ſo ready to acknowledge ourſelves dependant. The votaries for this idol tell us, upon the good people of our Mother Country, whom they repreſent as the moſt juſt, humane, and affectionate friends we can have in the world. Were this true, it were ſome encouragement; but who can pretend ignorance that theſe juſt and humane friends are as much under the tyranny of men of a reverſe character as we ſhould be, could thoſe miſcreants gain their ends? I diſclaim any more than a mutual dependance on any man, or number of men upon earth; but an indefinite dependance upon a combination of men, who have, in the face of the ſun, broken thro' the moſt ſolemn covenants, debauched the hereditary, and corrupted the elective guardians of the people's rights, who have, in fact, eſtabliſhed an abſolute tyranny in Great-Britain and Ireland, and openly declared themſelves *competent to bind the Coloniſts in all caſes whatſoever*: I ſay indefinite dependance on ſuch a combination of *uſurping innovators* is evidently as dangerous to liberty, as fatal to civil and ſocial happineſs, as any one ſtep that could be propoſed, even by the *deſtroyer of men.* The utmoſt that the honeſt party in Great-Britain can do, is to warn us to avoid this dependance at all hazards? Does not even a Duke of Grafton declare the miniſterial meaſures illegal and dangerous? And ſhall America, no way connected with this adminiſtration, preſs our ſubmiſſion to ſuch meaſures, and reconciliation to the authors of them? Would not ſuch pigeon-hearted wretches equally forward the recal of the Stuart family, and the eſtabliſhment of Popery throughout Chriſtendom, did they conceive the party in favor of thoſe loyal meaſures the ſtrongeſt? Shame on the men who can court exemption from preſent trouble and expence, at the price of their own and poſterity's liberty! The honeſt party in England cannot wiſh for the reconciliation propoſed. It is as unſafe to them as to us, and they thoroughly apprehend it. What check have they now upon the crown, and what ſhadow of control can they pretend, when the crown can command fifteen or twenty millions a year, which they have nothing to ſay to? A proper proportion of our commerce is all that can benefit any good man in Britain or Ireland, and God forbid we ſhould be ſo cruel as to furniſh bad men with power to enſlave both Britain and America. Adminiſtration has now fairly diſſevered the dangerous tie: Execrated will he be by the lateſt poſterity who again joins the fatal cord! But ſay the puling puſillanimous cowards, we ſhall be ſubject to a long and bloody war, if we declare independance. On the contrary, I affirm it the only ſtep that can bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy and happy iſſue. By declaring independance we place ourſelves on a footing for an equal negociation: Now we are called a pack of villainous rebels, who, like the St. Vincent Indians, can expect nothing more than a pardon for our lives, and the ſovereign favor, reſpecting freedom and property, *to be at the King's will.* Grant Almighty God that I may be numbered with the dead before that ſable day dawn on North-America!

All Europe knows the illegal and inhuman treatment we have received from Britons. All Europe wiſhes the haughty empreſs of the main reduced to a more humble deportment. After herſelf has thruſt her Colonies from her, the maritime powers cannot be ſuch idiots as to ſuffer her to reduce them to a more abſolute obedience of her dictates than they were heretofore obliged to yield. Does not the moſt ſuperficial politician know, that while we profeſs ourſelves the ſubjects of Great-Britain, and yet hold arms againſt her, they have a right to treat us as rebels, and that according to the laws of nature and nations no other ſtate has a right to interfere in the diſpute? But on the other hand, on our declaration of independance, the maritime ſtates at leaſt will find it their intereſt, which always ſecures the queſtion of inclination, to protect a people who can be ſo advantageous to them. So that thoſe ſhort-ſighted politicians, who conclude that this ſtep will involve us in ſlaughter and devaſtation, may plainly perceive that no meaſure in our power will ſo naturally and effectually work our deliverance. The motion of a finger of the Grand Monarch would procure as gentle a temper in the omnipotent Britiſh Miniſter, as appeared in the Manilla ranſom and Falkland iſlands affairs. From without certainly we have every thing to hope, nothing to fear; from within, ſome tell us the Preſbyterians, if freed from the reſtraining power of Great-Britain, would over-run the peaceable Quakers in this government. For my own part, I deſpiſe the bickerings of ſectaries, and am apprehenſive of no trouble from that quarter, eſpecially while no peculiar honors nor emoluments are annexed to either. I heartily wiſh too many of the Quakers did not give cauſe of complaint, by endeavoring to counteract the meaſures of their fellow citizens for the common ſafety. If they profeſs themſelves only pilgrims here, let them walk through the men of this world without interfering with their actions on either ſide. If they would not *pull down Kings*, let them not *ſupport tyrants;* for whether they underſtand it or not, there is, and ever has been, an eſſential difference in the characters.

Finally, with M. De Vatell, I account *a ſtate a moral perſon, having an intereſt and will of its own,* and I think that ſtate a monſter, whoſe prime mover has an intereſt and will, in direct oppoſition to its proſperity and ſecurity. This poſition has been ſo clearly demonſtrated in the pamphlet firſt mentioned in this eſſay, that I ſhall only add, if there are any arguments in favor of returning to a ſtate of dependance on Great-Britain, that is, on the preſent Adminiſtration of Great-Britain, I could wiſh they were timely offered, that they may be ſoberly conſidered, before the cunning propoſals of the cabinet ſet all the timid, lazy and irreſolute members of the community into a clamor for *peace at any rate.* CANDIDUS.

The Propriety of INDEPENDANCY.

TO acknowledge that the Creator formed Man for ſociety, and that ſociety cannot ſubſiſt without regulations, laws, and government; and at the ſame time to aſſert, that in ſpight of all human care to prevent it, every government will degenerate into a tyranny, is ſuch a daring *blaſphemy* of the *divine attributes*, that had I not heard it aſſerted, and acquieſced in as a truth, I could not have believed ſuch a poſition could have obtained in a civilized country! This monſtrous hypotheſis concludes that notwithſtanding the Deity had power enough to form ſuch admirable creatures as men and women, and fit them for enjoying of each other a thouſand ways, and tho' by means of the moſt exquiſite of thoſe enjoyments a race ſhould ariſe from them over which every power of rightful government muſt of neceſſity be exerciſed, yet juſt and rightful government is in reality utopian, imaginary, and impracticable! Did not God cloath the graſs, direct the wild Goat, and provide for the Sparrow, I might more eaſily be perſuaded to ſuſpect his care of Man.

I readily grant that the delegates of governmental power are too apt to conſider themſelves the poſſeſſors of it *in their own right*, and that they therefore take every means in their power to become the *maſters* in the place of *ſervants* to their *conſtituents*; and that the people in all civilized countries have been too inattentive to the uſurpations of their rulers: But I conceive of no cauſe in the nature of things which ſo abſolutely counteracts the power of a wiſe, learned, and free community as to render it impoſſible for them to preſerve their liberty. The arguments bro't from the condition of other ſtates, are by no means concluſive with reſpect to the North American colonies. I am bold to aſſert, that ſuch a favorable combination of circumſtances as they are bleſſed with at this important conjuncture, never did take place among any people with whom hiſtory has made us acquainted. The moſt juſt and ſolid foundation of ſocial happineſs was laid in the firſt ſettlement of the Continent, *the cultivation of the earth for the ſubſiſtance of its proprietor*. Here was no feudal tenure from ſome military Lord; every cultivator being the lord of his own ſoil, and content with its produce, had no thoughts of encroaching upon and ſubjecting his neighbour to his abſolute dominion. Hence a handſome competency has enabled the bulk of the people to give their children ſuch an education as enables them to read, and become acquainted with the uſurpations of the deepeſt plotters of their ruin. The ſpirit of the people for obtaining this neceſſary information, is evident from the incredible number of news-papers and other periodical publications which they encourage, and the effect of ſuch inſtitutions never have been ſo great in any community, yet known, as in theſe *pantaplebean (altogether* Commons) colonies. How quickly the moſt important revolution of the fundamentals of our policy can pervade a continent, may be gueſſed at by the progreſs of the idea of Colonial Independency in three weeks or a month at fartheſt! Surely thouſands and ten thouſands of common farmers and tradeſmen muſt be better reaſoners than ſome of our trammelled *juris conſultors*, who to this hour feel a reluctance to part with the abominable chain, which remaining, in any ſhape whatever, tho' modified by all the wiſdom and caution of the greateſt men now living, muſt in a very little time drag the colonies into the moſt abject ſlavery. Many profeſs themſelves zealous for the liberties of America, yet declare an abhorrence of the idea of independancy on Great-Britain. If this be not a ſoleciſm, as abſurd and irreconcileable as ever was obtruded on mankind, I know not the meaning of the term! *Civil Liberty* never was defined in ſtricter terms than *an* EXEMPTION *from all controul,* WITHOUT THE COMMUNITY, *in which every qualified member has an equal voice.* No American, as ſuch, has the ſhadow of incorporation with the government of Great-Britain; and in conſequence, if he receives the leaſt ſyllable of law from that quarter, he gives up his claim to the definitive exemption. If the ſticklers for *dependance* do not mean dependance for ſome certain laws, in the forming of which the Coloniſts have no voice at all, I do not yet underſtand them; and if they do mean that we ſhould admit the *claim* of any ſtate, or any part of the power of any ſtate, with which the domocratic power of this ſtate is not incorporated, to give us law *in any caſe whatever,* they admit a *fibre,* which I muſt make free to tell them, will ſpeedily grow into an *iron ſinew* which neither themſelves nor poſterity will be able to endure or burſt aſunder. And further, it is not only the admiſſion of ſome poſſible law from a foreign power, that hurries a people into ſlavery; a meer negative power on acts for the repeal of grievous laws will more ſlowly, but as certainly ſubvert liberty,

Again, Mr. Hume's obſervation, [*Perfect Common-wealth,* p. 301.] that "the ſword being in the hands of a ſingle perſon who will *always neglect to diſcipline the militia,* in order to have the pretext to *keep up a ſtanding army*;" and the ſucceeding one, "that this is a *mortal diſtemper* in the *Britiſh* government of which it *muſt, at laſt inevitably periſh,*" now ſo fatally confirmed, may be a ſufficient warning to the Colonies to *beware of being again entangled with the yoke of bondage.*

Many object to a Republican Government as impracticable in a large ſtate. " The contrary of this [ſays Hume, *Per. Com.* 302.] ſeems evident. Tho' 'tis more difficult to form a Republican Government in an extenſive country than in a city; there is more facility, when once it is formed, of preſerving it ſteady and uniform, without tumult or faction, in the former than the latter. (*Per. Com.* 303.) In a large government which is modelled with maſterly ſkill, there is compaſs and room enough to refine the democracy from the lower people, who may be admitted into the firſt elections, or firſt concoction of the commonwealth, to the higher magiſtrates who direct all the motions. At the ſame time the parts are ſo diſtant and remote that 'tis very difficult either by intrigue, prejudice, or paſſion, to hurry them into meaſures againſt the public intereſt." Thus far Mr. Hume, whoſe plan for a perfect commonwealth, will ſpeedily be ſubmitted to public conſideration.

DEMOPHILUS.

A Review of the American Conteſt, with ſome Strictures on the King's Speech, and its conſequences. Addreſſed to all Parents, in the Thirteen United Colonies. By a Friend to Poſterity and Mankind.

NATURE inſtructs the brute creation to provide for, guard and protect their offspring until they are able to do for themſelves. The dam is never known to forſake her young while her care is neceſſary for their ſafety, nor to do any thing which would involve them in diſtreſs and difficulty. Man, who has this principle in common with brutes, is endowed with others yet more valuable, but which to him are abſolutely neceſſary, whereby he is taught to provide for the future welfare of his deſcendants and to guard them from the encroachments of that power which civil ſociety conſtitutes for its own ſafety; but which, through the depravity of human nature is often turned againſt it. There are few parents who do not make it their conſtant ſtudy and earneſt endeavour to leave ſome valuable inheritance to their children: few who have been ſo loſt to the feelings of nature and calls of parental affection, as to entail difficuly and diſtreſs on their children, when it was in their power to leave them a fair and eaſy inheritance. And yet it has ſo happened, that by an ill timed attachment to the preſent, without paying proper attention to the future, they have entailed miſery upon them by the very means which were deſigned to preſerve them from it.

It is now in your power to bequeath to your children the one or the other, and it becomes you to have an eye to them in all your proceedings. It is ſufficiently known to you, that riches in arbitrary ſtates are often the ruin of their poſſeſſors, and that ſecurity to property is abſolutely neceſſary to ſtamp their true value on wealth and poſſeſſions, He therefore, who wiſhes to leave his children in flouriſhing circumſtances ought to be a zealous friend to thoſe meaſures, and that plan of government which gives the greateſt ſecurity to property, and an active warm oppoſer of thoſe which leave it to the arbitrary diſpoſal of men, who find a greater advantage in making free with what does not belong to them, than in frugally uſing what is juſtly their own. Whig and Tory ſhould be out of the queſtion. Private pique, party faction and animoſity ought to ſubſide. He who thinks ſhould think for poſterity, and he who acts ſhould act for his children.

It is a great weakneſs to ſuffer our paſſions to take place of our reaſon and blindly to follow their dictates, though to our manifeſt hurt, rather than ſubject them to our better ſenſe. A falſe pride, which will not acknowledge an error though ever ſo evident, an obſtinate perſeverance in our own opinion without deigning to hear advice or inſtruction, and an unreaſonable attachment to party, have done much miſchief to mankind, and may yet do more if not carefully avoided. I have directed this paper to you in preference to others, becauſe your parental affection ſhould form more than a counterpoiſe to every falſe principle, which can influence the human mind where the intereſt of your offſpring is at ſtake.

Our preſent conteſt is immenſely great, and every man muſt ſee that it will affect poſterity. Its conſequences cannot end with itſelf; but the lateſt generations muſt feel its effects. The great Ruler of the univerſe has permitted it for wiſe purpoſes, and has called every one of us to act our part in it. It becomes us, therefore, laying aſide all former prejudices, partiality and party attachments, to act upon principles which will juſtify us to him who has aſſigned us our ſtations, and cauſe poſterity to bleſs the memory of their forefathers. We all agree in this, that Great-Britain is unjuſt and arbitrary, and we have hitherto principally differed in the mode of oppoſition, which ought to have been purſued. I ſpeak not to thoſe who think one way and talk another. They act upon ſuch baſe principles, that it is in vain to attempt to rouze in them any juſt or generous ſentiments. We have no inſtances of the converſion of avaricious or ambitious hypocrites, and it would be waſting time to uſe arguments to convince them. I direct myſelf to you who have ſincerity ſufficient to examine the principles on which you proceed, and honeſty enough to purſue that courſe of conduct which appears to be right, and ſo much affection for your children as to prefer their intereſt and happineſs to every other conſideration. For you I mean to throw together a few hints which may aſſiſt you in finally fixing a right choice.

The Britiſh adminiſtration began its attacks on our liberties with a ſtamp act, but meeting with ſtrong oppoſition they thought fit to repeal it. This act threw the colonies into ſtrong convulſions, and we rejoiced exceedingly on its repeal, and fondly hoped that we would enjoy future tranquility. But we were miſtaken. They never intended to relinquiſh the deſign, but only to change their ground, that which they firſt pitched upon not ſeeming tenable. An American revenue granted by a Britiſh Parliament was the object, and they never loſt ſight of it; for they ſoon renewed their attacks upon principles which they thought more favourable to their intentions; but meeting with as little ſucceſs in that, as in the preceding attempt, they ſuſpended their meaſures for a time, in hopes of lulling us into a careleſs ſecurity. They accordingly once more returned to the charge, and endeavoured to effect by cunning and artifice what they had heretofore attempted in vain on every other peaceable plan. This not ſucceeding, they were reduced to their laſt ſhift of bullying and force. They levied armies, appointed generals of reputation to command, and ſent them amongſt us, we may know their commiſſion by their conduct; for after abuſing, brow-beating and inſulting, after ſtarving and tarring and feathering, after offering every poſſible injury which a free people could bear, without obtaining their ends, and every other meaſure failing, they drew the ſword, and at once reduced us to the dire alternative of ſubmitting to their illegal claims of juriſdiction, or entering into the bloody conteſt. Like men determined to be free we choſe the latter. It now reſts on the laſt argument, an argument which finally ſettles all controverſies of a like nature. The plan of operation is now opened, and they who ſtand to it with the moſt ſteady perſeverance muſt finally ſucceed. This is the decree of providence in all caſes, "he "that perſevereth unto the end ſhall be ſaved." We have, by the bleſſing of God, effectually baffled all their former attempts; but if we fail in this, all our former victories will only ſerve to make our fall the more conſpicuous and terrible.

I will not enquire what would have been the efficacy of any heretofore recommended, but untried means. The worſt that can has happened, and it is with it we have now to deal; to relinquiſh it on our part, would be to give up the matter, for however any means might once have done, cowardice alone would now deſert the field, and ſlavery muſt be the inevitable conſequence.

I do not wonder that war ſits heavy on us, and that we are ſomewhat reſtleſs and uneaſy; but I ſhall be ſurprized, if we, who have ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully oppoſed tyranny and oppreſſion, ſhould all on a ſudden loſe every deſire of retaining our liberties. I am forced into this remark by the artful, cunning and deſigning manner in which ſome men talk of a reconciliation with Great-Britain; and the bug-bears they conjure up to frighten the timid, irreſolute and ignorant, from a ſteady proſecution of thoſe means, which alone can help us in our preſent circumſtances. Facts bear evidence from the beginning of the conteſt that every ſcheme they ever recommended has, upon trial, proved inadequate to the end for which it was intended; yet they proceed. Beware of ſuch men, they love neither their country, nor their liberties, ſo much as ſomething elſe.

There are many I doubt not who are denominated Tories by the more zealous Whigs, who in their hearts wiſh ſucceſs to our meaſures, tho' they may be chagrined becauſe thoſe they propoſed did not go down with the people; theſe are uniform and not very dangerous; but there are others, who under the cloke of friendſhip for the cauſe, harbour the bittereſt rancour and malice in their hearts. Theſe talk favourably in general, though their diſcourſes moſtly terminate with a *doubt*, *ſuſpicion*, or *but*, which give thoſe with whom they converſe, reaſon to dread ſome hidden deſign, or approaching evil, which moſt men have not properly attended to. They artfully recal your attention to a certain period, when all was peace and quietneſs, and by pathetically lamenting the unhappy alteration, endeavour to impreſs your minds with an opinion that all our troubles aroſe from ourſelves. They carefully avoid mentioning the iniquitous meaſures of the Britiſh government which produced them, and by keeping thoſe out of ſight, they gradually lead the unwary into the belief, that the men who have been moſt active on the preſent occaſion in oppoſing the tyrannical proceedings of Great-Britain, and who have hazarded their all in defence of their country, have been actuated by ſiniſter motives in all they have done. If every man who hears ſuch inſinuations were to aſk thoſe who caſt them out, what meaſures have not the men they condemn tried at one time or another to avoid the preſent conteſt, and ſave our liberties? What advantages can they reap by a ſucceſsful end of it, which every freeman on the continent will not reap equally with them? And in an unſucceſsful cloſe of it, all will allow they muſt be the greateſt ſufferers. Their lives muſt go, let who will elſe eſcape. Theſe queſtions might recal them to facts, and theſe facts would enable men to judge aright.

Honeſty could not ſtand the force of a few pertinent queſtions, but theſe men have taken their leave of it, and like Manaſſeh of old, have ſold themſelves to do wickedly. Were it not ſo, could it be poſſible for them in the face of the ſun, to charge all our troubles on the New-England Preſbyterians, troubles which originally began, and have all along been kept up by a wicked adminiſtration and a venal parliament. To make them the hatchers of miſchiefs occaſioned by unconſtitutional acts of parliament, and the only fomenters of our juſt oppoſition with a Pennſylvanian Quaker, a Maryland and a Virginian Churchman, did more to effect than all the other men on the continent put together, is cruelty in the extreme. My heart bleeds when I think of ſuch men; who would ſell the whole continent and all the blood on it for private advantage, and with whom a few thouſand guineas with a title would be eſteemed an equivalent for the lives, liberty and property of the freemen of a colony. May that God who ſees how little they can gain, if ſucceſsful, open their eyes and turn their hearts, e'er they be convinced by fatal experience, that he who purchaſes the whole world at the price of his ſoul, is a very unwiſe dealer, and makes but a poor bargain in the end. If the calls of virtue, the precepts of religion, and dictates of patriotiſm cannot awaken them to a ſenſe of their duty, yet Norfolk might open their eyes. But let them do as they pleaſe, we ought to act wiſely. If we do not make ſuch a ſettlement now as will ſecure the privileges we contend for to poſterity, we entail either ſlavery or a civil war on our children. This is certain, let what will be doubtful. Look round you then, view your offspring, and tell me, are you willing to leave them ſuch a legacy? Do not trifle on this occaſion, all your other legacies muſt derive their true value from the part you now take in this conteſt. Think not that the God who charges him with worſe than infidelity who provides not for his own, and thoſe of his houſhold, will juſtify you in returning to the ſtate you were in when our troubles began, and thereby delivering over your offspring to the miſchievous machinations of a power that from the beginning has ſet right, juſtice, and mercy at defiance, and in all her deliberations conſidered nothing but her ability to execute.

Look to the year 1763, that happy period, as many ſo fondly call it, and ſee what ſafety there is to America in ſuch a ſituation. Lord North has ſaid, "If that is all they want, we are agreed;" and the ſaying pleaſes many of you. His Lordſhip, like others, who have learned wiſdom by experience, wiſhes to have all to begin again believing that he could more eaſily effect his purpoſe by other means than thoſe he is at preſent purſuing. Swallow the bait and you are undone forever.

Can any man in his ſenſes believe, that he who has ſo long, and ſo invariably purſued his point againſt the ſenſe of the beſt men in the nation, will finally deſert his maſter's moſt favourite ſcheme ſo eaſily? Has he uttered a ſingle ſyllable that can make the moſt credulous believe that he is convinced of the injuſtice of his conduct? He confeſſes he was deceived; but wherein lay the deception? In believing that fewer troops would effect a ſubmiſſion than he is now convinced muſt be employed. Here lay the deception he complains of, and he is therefore determined to ſend his terms with ſuch an armed force, as he expects will frighten you into a compliance. Does this look like the conduct of one who deſigns to relinquiſh his claims? Were he or his maſter ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings and the wrongs they have done us, they would both ſpeak a very different language. Why does he call you rebels? Why call in foreign troops to his aid? Why does his maſter lament ſo pathetically, that the extenſive operations of the war he means to carry on againſt you, will exhauſt his funds and increaſe the public debts, while he has not a ſingle tear to ſhed, not a groan, nor as much as a ſigh for all the blood he has already ſpilt, and yet means to ſpill, if he wiſhes to allow you ſecurity to your privileges? Oh! George! The day thou utteredſt that ſentiment in the face of the ſun, thou gaveſt up all title to humanity. "Among the many unavoidable ill conſequences of this re-"bellion, none affects me more ſenſibly," ſays the King, "than the extraordinary burthen it muſt create to my faithful ſubjects." "Moſt humane Prince! moſt pious Sovereign! moſt affectionate father of thy people! an addition to thy Britiſh ſubjects burthens to obtain a moſt unrighteous purpoſe of thy own, affects thee in order to reconcile them to the bearing of it; but to ſpill the blood of thy oppreſſed American ſubjects diſturbs not thy guiltleſs conſcience! Let me tell thee, O King, that there is a God who ſees through the veil that covers thy deceit, and who hears the cry of the needy, and regards the prayer of the diſtreſſed, who will recompence vengeance on the wicked, though ſupported by the power of Great Britain. Our weakneſs is ſufficient in his hands for the purpoſe, If thine and thy miniſters are not evil againſt us, why didſt thou not hearken to the repeated prayers of thy diſtreſſed ſubjects in America? Why doſt thou not recal thy troops, repeal the acts, indemnify us for what we have ſuffered, and offer any further ſecurity to our rights, which we may think neceſſary? Thou beganneſt the attack, and this is thy duty; beſides, thou haſt an obedient parliament, which diſputes not thy will, and all this is in thy power, and in no one's elſe."

Had the King made a ſpeech to the houſe recommending theſe things, he would have given unequivocal proof of his honeſt intentions, and it might juſtly be termed gracious. But who can truſt a Prince, who while he ſpeaks the language of peace and humanity with his lips, has nothing but cruelty and war in his conduct. The man who does, may have the innocence of the dove, but he cannot be poſſeſſed of the wiſdom of the ſerpent. 'I conclude by entreating you, that as you love your children, and their happineſs, you never deſert your preſent oppoſition, until you obtain ſuch a plan of conſtitutional vigour, as ſhall put it at all times in your power to ſecure yourſelves and your deſcendants from tyrannical encroachments. This you never had, nor never can have, on the plan of your former dependance. Remember, I call the Deity to witneſs, that I have warned you againſt deſtroying your offspring, and prayed you to be on your guard againſt the ſnares of the inſidious. May he who acts from a principle of humanity and benevolence to mankind finally meet with ſucceſs, and may the ſchemes of hypocrites be blaſted.

A Friend to Poſterity and Mankind.

To the Right Honourable Lord DARTMOUTH, *Secretary of State for* AMERICA.

Philadelphia, Jan. 1. 1776.

My Lord,

YOU are the miniſter of the American department. You have the character of a religious man, a rare virtue in a modern ſtateſman. It has become my duty and intereſt to addreſs you, on the preſent circumſtances of affairs in America. I know the Americans well; their ſtrongeſt and ruling paſſion was their affection to their mother country; the honour, the glory of Great Britain they eſteemed as their greateſt happineſs; a large portion of the ſame affection remains; nothing but repeated injuries and injuſtice could have leſſened it. My Lord, from a wanton and avaricious exerciſe of power, the miniſtry of Great Britain have heaped injuries on the heads of the Americans, that no one period of hiſtory can parellel.

The practice of the Egyptians in ſmothering the children of the Iſraelites in the birth, the ſwords of Cortez and Pizarro, who ſlew millions of innocent Mixicans and Peruvians, the dreadful famine brought by the Eaſt India Company upon the poor Eaſt-Indians muſt all be brought into one ſcale, to ſerve as any ſort of balance to the ſyſtem of deſolation, that you and your brother miniſters, are meditating and daily practiſing againſt the unhappy people of North America.

The elements, which the providence of God hath given for all his creatures, you have the preſumption to deprive them of, Fire, ſword, famine, and deſolation, ſhew the vicinity of your fleets and armies; children and ſervants are animated to riſe and ſlaughter their benefactors. No ſpecies of cruelty, which the wit or malice of man or devils could adviſe, but are practiſed againſt the Americans.

Do you believe in God, my Lord, and direct theſe things? Do you believe that God made America as well as Great Britain? If you do, ponder, conſider well, what anſwer you will give if you eſcape puniſhment in this world, when you come to be queſtioned before the Throne of God, for the deſtruction you have made of his creatures, the work of his hands, to whom he granted life and liberty, earth, air and water equally as to yourſelf: and yet preſumptuous man, you have dared to counteract his providence! Have you conſcience my Lord? If you have, I would not for the empire of a thouſand worlds be Lord Dartmouth? But, my Lord, it is not to awaken your conſcience *only* that I write you this letter: the flame of civil war, by your management, hath extended far and wide in America; battles have been fought, numbers have been ſlain, and priſoners taken on both ſides; the Americans have in their poſſeſſion ten for one, and among them many men of rank, Preſcot, Preſton, Stopford and others; they are all treated with tenderneſs and regard, while the priſoners you have taken are treated with ſeverity, carried to England in irons, there, as it is ſaid, to be tried, and of courſe condemned and executed, or in other words, under form of law murdered!

My Lord, if there be any thing on earth or in heaven that you reſpect, avoid that rock—You have Col. Allen, Capt. Martindale and ſome other priſoners—the hour that it is known here that any of thoſe priſoners are executed, the priſoners here will be ſacrificed—nay more, every Engliſh and Scots adherent;—dread, ſhun, and for ever abandon ſuch murderous intentions.—The cries and vengeance of all the relations of thoſe whoſe blood ſhall be ſhed in this manner will ſurround you, death and horror will be your conſtant companions, and the torments of the damned, even on earth, will await you.

My Lord, this is but the beginning of ſorrows. Take in good part what I write. It is truth, and intended for the benefit of Britain and America.

AN ENGLISH AMERICAN.

Obſervations on LORD NORTH's *Conciliatory* PLAN.

I CANNOT recal an idea to my mind more amazingly abſurd and ſtupid than the idea of Lord North's ſecond attempt to gull the Coloniſts into a belief of his inclination to hold out to them terms of a ſafe and amicable reconciliation with Great Britain. No one is ignorant that the Americans have offered every thing that can poſſibly be deviſed to bury the injurious and enſlaving claims of adminiſtration, in perpetual oblivion, and leave matters on the ſame footing they were before the pretence was held up. Thoſe generous propoſals, however often repeated, have as often been rejected with an inſolent contempt, and yet the *profound politician* tells his opponents in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, that he is heartily inclined to a reconciliation with the Colonies, and willing to put them in the ſituation they ſo paſſionately deſire; that is, ſays he, to a courtier demanding explanation, *in a ſtate of abſolute dependance on the Britiſh Parliament in all caſes whatſoever*; for, ſays his Lordſhip, they were unqueſtionably thus dependant in 1763. Had his Lordſhip entirely forgot the ſucceſs of his former experiment, perhaps a trial of the ſame wretched *trick* over again, might have appeared leſs rediculous. I may indeed ſay, leſs inſulting to the loweſt underſtanding. I would aſk the moſt credulous votary for making up the diſpute, what *poſſible grounds* they perceive to found their expectation of a permanent reconciliation upon? Has any thing lately turned up, which has indicated a change of diſpoſition in the Prince or his favorites? Can a majority, which have been ſecured from one ſeven years to another, by pure force of corruption, be depended on to remain firm to a ſlaughtering, plundering and deſolating court, and ſhare the deteſtation of preſent and future ages, for mere nothing? Has the court reſolved to caſt Bernard, Hutchinſon and daughter, Richardſon the Murderer, crazy John Malcom, and Richardſon the recent volunteer, out on the common? I tell you, nay! You have a freſh inſtance of the firmneſs of the cabinet, in adding another three thouſand pound penſioner to the liſt, in a conjuncture, when all mankind will confeſs there is need of ſaving. Theſe burthenſome penſions muſt come from ſome part of the dominions! If Great-Britain and Ireland have conceived ſuch a mortal hatred to America, that they can hug her moſt inveterate enemies in their boſoms, and vote them ſuch munificent rewards for drawher into ſo deſtructive a civil war, we cannot be ſafe in the power of ſuch enemies. If they abound in reſources as largely as Mr. Wedderburne and others boaſt they do, let them ceaſe complaining of their poverty, and contentedly diſcharge their own national debt, rather than go on augmenting it, by their efforts to ſaddle it, with an unlimited penſion liſt, on America. Does the nation bear the weight of the preſent unnatural quarrel with America on other terms, than a firm aſſurance of the Court, that millions of leading men's dependants ſhall be provided for in America, for whom places can by no means be found at home. Is not the very genius of the people of Great-Britain and Ireland corrupted, inſomuch, that the views of young fellows of education, or any connection with men of note, are altogether ſet on public money? Can our peaceable men indulge a gleam of hope, that this humour will alter, or that youths, bred in idleneſs and diſſipation, will become induſtrious and diſintereſted patriots? If not they muſt then be ſo weak as to conceit, that miniſters will become leſs fond of fingering the public money, and ſecuring themſelves in places of power and profit by means of it; indeed, that they will become more honeſt and ſaving of the national money than thoſe the conſtitution has appointed as a check upon them. It is no wonder they tell of ſending a formidable fleet and army to bring over terms of reconciliation, when they are in no one article different from the terms they firſt aimed to impoſe. Had the miniſter, or more properly the obſtinate author of all our troubles, had the remoteſt idea of favouring us with a government of laws, which had any reſpect to the ſecurity of our lives and properties, he had long ſince granted with a good grace, petitions, made and repeated with the moſt dutiful and perſevering affection, which aſked for nothing more! *Sed aut Cæſar aut nullus*, ſeems the unalterable determination of the man, who ſoothed our already elated expectations, by an inaugural declaration, that he *gloried* in the name of Briton, at that time, a diſtinctive characteriſtic of the patrons of univerſal liberty. If therefore the whole body of the governing, and influential part of the governed in Great Britain, be unalterably ſet upon extorting tribute from the Colonies; and the better to ſecure the laws, and executors of thoſe laws, dependant only on themſelves for appointment, continuance and ſupport; and all theſe to be extended at their ſole pleaſure, it may readily be determined in what condition, the abſolutely paſſive ſubjects of ſuch an unnatural uſurpation would quickly be. It is evident they have concluded on two things, viz. to make a bold puſh for our entire ſubjection, as their ends would be thereby more readily anſwered; but that being found impracticable, we are to be tried with negociation, in which all the craft, duplicity and punic faith of adminiſtration is to be expected. Pray God it may be wiſely and firmly guarded againſt! The worthy and honourable John Collins, Eſq; of New-Port, Rhode Iſland, on the arrival of Lord North's laſt conciliatory plan, obſerved, that notwithſtanding the expoſure of his large eſtate, to whatever depredations the enemy ſaw fit to make upon it, he was more concerned for the probable ſucceſs of their arts than arms. Had the Americans in general the wiſdom and firmneſs of that gentleman, matters would not have come to the preſent melancholy lengths we find them. However, in the great and general plan of him who putteth down and ſetteth up ſtates, this is doubtleſs an indiſpenſible part, and therefore not to be complained of; but it has amazed me to contemplate the numerous inſtances of diſappointment our enemies have met with, in every plot they have laid for our deſtruction. How did Bernard and Hutchinſon flatter themſelves with the number of friends they had in the ſeveral towns of the Maſſachuſetts, and thought that a very trifling force, from the other ſide of the water, added to their minions, dependants and expectants, would cruſh a little turbulent faction, who diſturbed their darling meaſures? Certainly men intoxicated with a luſt of abſolute power found ſomething in the appearance of things to tole them on to an object ſo grateful to their fondeſt wiſhes; otherwiſe they would have been contented to augment and confirm their power by ſuch unperceived degrees that the *happy days* many tell us we have enjoyed under a continual invading uſurpation, would not yet have been ſo ſenſibly interrupted. No leſs has the ſo often extolled Gov. Tryon been diſappointed in his benevolent intentions reſpecting New-York. His band on Long-Iſland, and the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's river, with Sir John Johnſon among his vaſſals, gave great hopes of having matters in a fine train before the invincible armada arrived in the ſpring; inſtead of which, it is probable the active General Lee will ſo fortify that place, that all the force they can ſend againſt it, will be inſufficient to reduce it. Dunmore, with all his wanton ravage, has done little more than exaſperate the Virginians, and convinced that brave colony, that they can be formidable to ſavages on the eaſt, as well as weſt ſide of their dominion. Carleton's Canadians make no ſuch figure in the harrangues of the penſioner as they did laſt year; and in caſe foreigners are to be procured to be poured in upon us, the greateſt oppoſers of our total ſeperation from Britain acknowledge, they would then no longer defer a declaration of independancy, and application to other powers for their protection. To this the whole ſcene appears rapidly advancing, in my view, as haſtily as infinite wiſdom thinks proper to conduct it; and if this be his moſt gracious deſign, he will work, and none ſhall hinder. Amen, Beneficent Jehovah! Amen. *Sic ſperat*

SINCERUS.

APPENDIX to COMMON SENSE.

The Neceſſity of INDEPENDANCY.

SINCE the publication of the firſt edition of this pamphlet, or rather on the ſame day on which it came out, the King's Speech made its appearance in this city. Had the ſpirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth at a more ſeaſonable juncture, or a more neceſſary time. The bloody mindedneſs of the one, ſhews the neceſſity of purſuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And the Speech, inſtead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independance.

Ceremony, and even ſilence, from whatever motive they may ariſe, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the leaſt degree of countenance to baſe and wicked performances! wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows, that the King's Speech, as being a piece of finiſhed villainy, deſerved, and ſtill deſerves, a general execration, both by the Congreſs and the people. Yet, as the domeſtic tranquility of a nation depends greatly on the *chaſtity* of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better, to paſs ſome things over in ſilent diſdain, than to make uſe of ſuch new methods of diſlike, as might introduce the leaſt innovation on that guardian of our peace and ſafety. And perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that the King's Speech hath not, before now, ſuffered a public execution. The ſpeech, if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel againſt the truth, the common good, and the exiſtence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human ſacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general maſſacre of mankind, is one of the privileges, and the certain conſequence of Kings; for as nature knows them *not*, they know *not her*, and although they are beings of our *own* creating, they know not *us*, and are become the gods of their creators. The ſpeech hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loſs: And every line convinces, even in the moment of reading, that he, who hunts the wood for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is leſs a Savage than the King of Britain.

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jeſuitical piece, fallaciouſly called, "*The addreſs of the people of* England, *to the Inhabitants of* America," hath, perhaps, from a vain ſuppoſition, that the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and deſcription of a king, giving, (though very unwiſely on his part) the real character of the preſent one: "But," ſays the writer, "if you are inclined to pay compliments to an adminiſtration which we do not complain of, (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp act,) it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince *by whoſe* NOD ALONE, *they were permitted to do any thing*." This is toryiſm with a witneſs! Here is idolatry even without a maſk: And he who can calmly hear and digeſt ſuch doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality—an apoſtate from the order of manhood, and ought to be conſidered—as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but ſunk himſelf beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm.

However, it matters very little now, what the king of England either ſays or does; he hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conſcience beneath his feet; and by a ſteady and conſtitutional ſpirit of inſolence and cruelty, procured for himſelf an univerſal hatred. It is *now* the intereſt of America to provide for herſelf. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property to ſupport a power who is become a reproach to the names of men and chriſtians. YE, whoſe office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatſoever ſect or denomination ye are, as well as ye, who are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wiſh to preſerve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye muſt in ſecret wiſh a ſeperation——But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I ſhall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads:

Firſt, That it is the intereſt of America to be ſeperated from Britain.

Secondly, Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, reconciliation or independance? with ſome occaſional remarks.

In ſupport of the firſt, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of ſome of the ableſt and moſt experienced men on this continent; and whoſe ſentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a ſelf-evident poſition: For no nation, in a ſtate of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legiſlative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progreſs which ſhe hath made, ſtands unparalleled in the hiſtory of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what ſhe would be capable of arriving at, had ſhe, as ſhe ought to have, the legiſlative powers in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were ſhe to accompliſh it; and the continent heſitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce, and not the conqueſt of America, by which England is to be benefited, and that would in a great meaſure continue, were the countries as independant of each other as France and Spain; becauſe in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independance of this country on Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention, and which, like all other truths diſcovered by neceſſity, will appear clearer and ſtronger every day.

Firſt. Becauſe it will come to that one time or other.

Secondly. Becauſe the longer it is delayed, the harder it will be to accompliſh.

I have frequently amuſed myſelf both in public and private companies, with ſilently remarking the ſpecious errors of thoſe who ſpeak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following ſeems the moſt general, viz. that had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, inſtead of *now*, the Continent would have been more able to have ſhaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability *at this time*, ariſes from the experience gained in the late war, and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent would not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or thoſe who may ſucceed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this ſingle poſition, cloſely attended to, will unanſwerably prove, that the preſent time is preferable to all others: The argument turns thus: At the concluſion of the laſt war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we ſhould have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time muſt be ſome particular point between the two extremes, in which a ſufficiency of the former remains, and a proper encreaſe of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the preſent time.

The reader will pardon this digreſſion, as it does not properly come under the head I firſt ſet out with, and to which I again return by the following poſition, viz.

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and ſhe to remain the governing and ſovereign power of America, (which as matters are now circumſtanced, is giving up the point entirely) we ſhall deprive ourſelves of the very means of ſinking the debt we have, or may contract. The value of the back lands, which ſome of the provinces are clandeſtinely deprived of, by the unjuſt extention of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds ſterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty five millions, Pennſylvania currency; and the quit-rents at one penny ſterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the ſale of thoſe lands, that the debt may be ſunk, without burthen to any, and the quit-rent reſerved thereon, will always leſſen, and in time will wholly ſupport the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, ſo that the lands when ſold, be applied to the diſcharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congreſs for the time being, will be the continental truſtees.

I proceed now to the ſecond head, viz. Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, *Reconciliation or Independance*; with ſome occaſional remarks.

He who takes nature for his guide, is not eaſily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I anſwer *generally*, *That* Independance *being a* ſingle ſimple line, *contained within ourſelves; and reconciliation, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which, a treacherous capricious court is to interfere, gives the anſwer without a doubt.*

The preſent ſtate of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courteſy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of ſentiment, which, is nevertheleſs ſubject to change, and which, every ſecret enemy is endeavouring to diſſolve. Our preſent condition, is, Legiſlation without law; wiſdom without a plan; a conſtitution without a name; and, what is ſtrangely aſtoniſhing, perfect Independance contending for dependance. The inſtance is without a precedent; the caſe never exiſted before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is ſecure in the pteſent unbraced ſyſtem of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random, and ſeeing no fixed object before them, they purſue ſuch as fancy or opinion ſtarts. Nothing is criminal; there is no ſuch thing as treaſon; wherefore, every one thinks himſelf at liberty to act as he pleaſes. The Tories would not have dared to aſſemble offenſively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the ſtate. A line of diſtinction ſhould be drawn, between Engliſh ſoldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The firſt are priſoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

Notwithſtanding our wiſdom, there is a viſible feebleneſs in ſome of our proceedings, which gives encouragement to diſſentions. The Continental Belt is too looſely buckled. And if ſomething is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we ſhall fall into a ſtate, in which, neither *Reconciliation* nor *Independance* will be practicable. The king and his worthleſs adherents are got at the old game of dividing the Continent, and there are not wanting among us, Printers, who will be buſy in ſpreading ſpecious falſehoods. The artful and hypocritical letter, which appeared a few months ago, in two of the New-York papers, and likewiſe in two others, is an evidence, that there are men who want either judgment or honeſty.

It is eaſy getting into holes and corners, and talking of reconciliation: But do ſuch men ſeriouſly conſider, how difficult the taſk is, and how dangerous it may prove, ſhould the Continent divide thereon. Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men, whoſe ſituation and circumſtances, as well as their own, are to be conſidered therein. Do they put themſelves in the place of the ſufferer, whoſe *all* is *already* gone, and of the ſoldier, who hath quitted *all* for the defence of his country. If their ill-judged moderation be ſuited to their own private ſituations *only*, regardleſs of others, the event will convince them, that "they are reckoning without their hoſt."

Put us, ſay ſome, upon the footing we were on in ſixty-three: To which I anſwer, the requeſt is not *now* in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will ſhe propoſe it; but if it were, and even ſhould be granted, I aſk, as a reaſonable queſtion, By what means is ſuch a corrupt and faithleſs court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the preſent, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwiſely granted; and in that caſe, Where is our redreſs?—No going to law with nations; cannon are the barriſters of crowns; and the ſword, not of juſtice, but of war decides the ſuit. To be on the footing of ſixty-three, it is not ſufficient, that the laws only be put on the ſame ſtate, but that our circumſtances, likewiſe be put on the ſame ſtate; our burnt and deſtroyed towns repaired or built up, our private loſſes made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) diſcharged, otherwiſe we ſhall be millions worſe than we were at that enviable period. Such a requeſt, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and ſoul of the Continent, but now it is too late. "The Rubicon is paſſed."

Beſides, the taking up arms, merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, ſeems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce the obedience thereto. The object, on either ſide, doth not juſtify the means; for the lives of men are too valuable, to be caſt away on ſuch trifles, It is the violence which is done and threatened to our perſons; the deſtruction of our property by an armed force; the invaſion of our country by fire and ſword, which conſcientiouſly qualifies the uſe of arms: And the inſtant, in which ſuch a mode of defence became neceſſary, all ſubjection to Britain ought to have ceaſed; and the independancy of America, ſhould have been conſidered, as dating its æra from, and publiſhed by, *the firſt muſket that was fired againſt her.* This line is a line of conſiſtency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I ſhall conclude theſe remarks, with the following timely and well intended hint. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways, by which an independancy may hereafter be effected; and that *one* of thoſe *three*, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congreſs; by a military power; or by a mob: It may not always happen that our ſoldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reaſonable men; vertue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independancy be brought about by the firſt of thoſe means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the nobleſt pureſt conſtitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A ſituation, ſimilar to the preſent, hath not happened ſince the days of Noah until now. The birth day of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The reflection is awful and in this point of view, how trifling, how ridiculous, do the little paltry cavillings, of a few weak or intereſted men appear, when weighed againſt the buſineſs of a world.

Should we neglect the preſent favourable and inviting period, and an inpependance be hereafter effected by other means, we muſt charge the conſequence to ourſelves, or to thoſe rather, whoſe narrow and perjudiced ſouls, are habitually oppoſing the ſures, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reaſons to be given in ſupport of independance, which men ſhould rather privately think of, than be publickly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we ſhall be independant or not, but, anxious to accompliſh it on a firm, ſecure, and honorable baſis, and uneaſy rather that it is not yet began upon. Every day convinces us of its neceſſity. Even the Tories (if ſuch beings yet remain among us) ſhould, of all men, be the moſt ſolicitous to promote it; for as the appointment of committees at firſt, protected them from popular rage, ſo, a wiſe and well eſtabliſhed form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing it ſecurely to them. *Wherefore*, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wiſh for Independance.

In ſhort, Independance is the only BOND that can tye and keep us together. We ſhall then ſee our object, and our ears will be legally ſhut againſt the ſchemes of an intriguing, as well as a cruel enemy. We ſhall then too be on a proper footing to treat with Britain; for there is reaſon to conclude, that the pride of that court will be leſs hurt by treating with the American ſtates for terms of peace, than with thoſe ſhe denominates "rebellious ſubjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conqueſt, and our backwardneſs tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redreſs of our grievances, let us now try the alternative, by *independantly* redreſſing them ourſelves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reaſonable part in England will be ſtill with us; becauſe, peace with trade, is preferable to war without it. And if this offer is not accepted, other courts may be applied to. On theſe grounds I reſt the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be oppoſed. *Wherefore*, inſtead of gazing at each other with ſuſpicious or doubtful curioſity, let each of us hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendſhip, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion, ſhall bury in forgetfulneſs every former diſſention. Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than thoſe of *a good citizen, an open and reſolute friend, and a virtuous ſupporter of the rights of mankind and of the free and independant ſtates of America.*

To the Repreſentatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to ſo many of them as were concerned in publiſhing a late piece, entitled "The ANCIENT TESTIMONY and PRINCIPLES "of the People called QUAKERS renewed, with Reſpect to the "KING and GOVERNMENT, and touching the COMMOTIONS "now prevailing in theſe and other parts of AMERICA, "addreſſed to the *People in General.*"

THE Writer of this, is one of thoſe few, who never diſhonors religion either by ridiculing, or cavilling at any denomination whatſoever. To God and not to man, are all men accountable on the ſcore of religion. Wherefore, this epiſtle is not ſo properly addreſſed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the profeſſed Quietude of your Principles inſtruct you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for ſo doing, put yourſelves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, ſo, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourſelves, is under the neceſſity of putting himſelf in the place of all thoſe, who approve the very writings and principles, againſt which, your teſtimony is directed: And he hath choſen this ſingular ſituation, in order, that you might diſcover in him that preſumption of character which you cannot ſee in yourſelves. For neither he nor you can have any claim or title to *Political Repreſentation.*

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they ſtumble and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your teſtimony, that politics, (as a religious body of men) is not your proper Walk; for however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheleſs, a jumble of good and bad put unwiſely together, and the concluſion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjuſt.

The two firſt pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the ſame civility from you, becauſe the love and deſire of peace is not confined to Quakeriſm, it is the natural, as well as, the religious wiſh of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men laboring to eſtabliſh an Independant Conſtitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. *Our plan is peace forever.* We are tired of contention with Britain, and can ſee no real end to it but in a final ſeperation. We act conſiſtently, becauſe for the ſake of introducing an endleſs and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the preſent day. We are endeavouring, and will ſtill continue to endeavour, to ſeperate and diſſolve a connection which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cauſe of future miſchiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge nor conqueſt; neither from pride nor paſſion; we are not inſulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the ſhade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houſes, and on our own lands, is the violence committed againſt us. We view our enemies in the character of highwaymen and houſe-breakers, and having no defence for ourſelves in the civil law, are obliged to puniſh them by the military one, and apply the ſword, in the very caſe, where you have before now applied the halter—Perhaps we feel for the ruined and inſulted ſufferers in all and every part of the Continent, with a degree of tenderneſs which hath not yet made its way into ſome of your boſoms. But be ye ſure that ye miſtake not the cauſe and ground of your teſtimony. Call not coldneſs of ſoul, religion; nor put the Bigot in the place of the Chriſtian.

O ye partial miniſters of your own acknowledged principles. If the bearing arms be ſinful, the firſt going to war muſt be more ſo, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conſcience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horſe of your religion, convince the world thereof by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, *for they likewiſe bear arms.* Give us proof of your ſincerity by publiſhing it at St. James's, to the Commanders in chief at Boſton, to the Admirals and Captains who are piratically ravaging our coaſts, and to all the murdering miſcreants who are acting in authority under *Him* whom ye profeſs to ſerve. Had ye the honeſt ſoul of * BARCLAY, ye would preach repentance to your king: Ye would tell the Royal Wretch his ſins, and warn him of eternal ruin. Ye would not ſpend your partial invectives againſt the injured and inſulted only, but, like faithful miniſters, would cry aloud and *ſpare none.* Say not that ye are perſecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach which ye are bringing on yourſelves; for we teſtify unto all men, that we do not complain againſt you becauſe ye are *Quakers*, but becauſe ye pretend to *be* and are *not* Quakers.

---

* "Thou haſt taſted of proſperity and adverſity; thou knoweſt what it is to be
" baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as to rule, and ſet upon
" the throne; and being *oppreſſed*, thou haſt reaſon to know how *hateful* the
" *oppreſſor* is both to God and man: If after all theſe warnings and advertiſe-
" ments, thou doſt not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who
" remembered thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thyſelf to follow luſt and vanity,
" ſurely great will be thy condemnation.—Againſt which ſnare, as well as the
" temptation of thoſe who may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil, the moſt
" excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyſelf to that light of Chriſt,
" which ſhineth in thy conſcience, and which neither can, nor will flatter thee,
" nor ſuffer thee to be at eaſe in thy ſins."

Barclay's Addreſs to Charles II.

Alas! it ſeems by the particular tendency of ſome part of your teſtimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if, all ſin was reduced to, and comprehended in, *the act of bearing arms*, and that by the *people only.* Ye appear to have miſtaken party for conſcience; becauſe the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity: and it is exceedingly difficult to give credit to many of your pretended ſcruples; becauſe, we ſee them made by the ſame men, who, in the very inſtant that they are exclaiming againſt the mammon of this world, are nevertheleſs hunting after it with a ſtep as ſteady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your teſtimony, that, "when a man's ways pleaſe "the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him," is very unwiſely choſen on your part; becauſe, it amounts to a proof, that the king's ways (whom ye are ſo deſirous of ſupporting) do *not* pleaſe the Lord, otherwiſe, his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your teſtimony and that, for which all the foregoing ſeems only an introduction, viz.

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, ſince we were called to profeſs the light of Chriſt Jeſus, manifeſted in our conſciences unto this day, that the ſetting up and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative; for cauſes beſt known to himſelf: And that it is not our buſineſs to have any hand or contrivance therein; nor to be buſy-bodies above our ſtation, much leſs to plot and contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the king, and ſafety of our nation, and good of all men: That we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty; *under the government which God is pleaſed to ſet over us*"—If theſe are really your principles why do you not abide by them? Why do you not leave that, which ye call God's Work, to be managed by himſelf? Theſe very principles inſtruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public meaſures, and to receive that event as the divine will towards you. *Wherefore*, what occaſion is there for your *political teſtimony*, if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publiſhing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profeſs, or have not virtue enough to practice what ye believe.

The principles of Quakeriſm have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet and inoffenſive ſubject of any, and every government which is ſet over him. And if the ſetting up and pulling down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he moſt certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore, the principle itſelf leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings, as being his work. Oliver Cromwell thanks you. Charles, then, died not by the hands of man; and ſhould the preſent proud imitators of him, come to the ſame untimely end, the writers and publiſhers of the teſtimony, are bound by the doctrine it contains to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than ſuch as are common and human; and ſuch as we are now uſing. Even the diſperſion of the Jews, though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as you refuſe to be the means on one ſide, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other; but to wait the iſſue in ſilence? and unleſs ye can produce divine authority, to prove, that the Almighty who created and placed this new world at the greateſt diſtance it could poſſibly ſtand, eaſt and weſt, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheleſs, diſapprove of its being independant of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain, unleſs, I ſay, ye can ſhew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles, juſtify the exciting and ſtirring up the people "firmly "to unite in the *abhorrence* of all ſuch *writings*, and *meaſures*, as "evidence a deſire and deſign to break off the *happy* connexion "we have hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great-Britain, "and our juſt and neceſſary ſubordination to the king, and thoſe "who are lawfully placed in authority under him." What a ſlap of the face is here! The men, who in the very paragraph before, have quietly and paſſively reſigned up the ordering, altering, and diſpoſal of kings and governments into the hands of God, are now recalling their principles, and putting in for a ſhare of the buſineſs. Is it poſſible, that the concluſion, which is here juſtly quoted, can any way follow from the doctrines laid down? The inconſiſtency is too glaring not to be ſeen; the abſurdity too great not to be laughed at; and ſuch as could only have been made by thoſe, whoſe underſtandings were darkened by the narrow and crabbed ſpirit of a deſpairing political party; for ye are not to be conſidered as the whole body of the Quakers, but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your teſtimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly) to which I ſubjoin the following remark; "that the "ſetting up and putting down of kings," moſt certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not ſo, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what has this to do in the preſent caſe? We neither mean to *ſet up* nor to *pull down*, neither to *make* nor to *unmake*, but to have nothing to *do* with them. Wherefore, your teſtimony in whatever light it is viewed, ſerves only to diſhonor your judgment, and for many other reaſons had better been let alone than publiſhed.

Firſt, Becauſe it tends to the decreaſe and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmoſt danger to ſociety, to make it a party in political diſputes.

Secondly, Becauſe it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom diſavow the publiſhing political teſtimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly, Becauſe it hath a tendency to undo that Continental harmony and friendſhip which yourſelves by your late liberal and charatable donations hath lent a hand to eſtabliſh; and the preſervation of which, is of the utmoſt conſequence to us all.

And here without anger or reſentment I bid you farewel. Sincerely wiſhing, that as men and chriſtians, ye may alway fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be, in your turn, the means of ſecuring it to others; but that the example which ye have unwiſely ſet, of mingling religion with politics, *may be diſavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of America.*

From Entick's Naval Hiſtory concerning Ship-building.

The charge of building a ſhip of each rate, and furniſhing her with maſts, yards, ſails and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatſwain's and carpenter's ſea-ſtores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the Navy.

For a ſhip of 100 guns	£. 35,553
90	29,886
80	23,638
70	17,785
60	14,197
50	10,606
40	7,558
30	5,846
20	3,710

And from hence it is eaſy to ſum up the value, or coſt rather, of the whole Britiſh navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greateſt glory, conſiſted of the following ſhips and guns.

Ships.	Guns.	Coſt of one.	Coſt of all.
6	100	35,553 *l.*	213,318 *l.*
12	90	29,886	358,632
12	80	23,638	283,656
43	70	17,785	764,755
35	60	14,197	496,895
40	50	10,606	424,240
45	40	7,558	340,110
58	20	3,710	215,180
85 ſloops, bombs, and fireſhips, one with another, at		2,000	170,000
		Coſt	3,266,786
	Remains for guns		233.214
		Total	3,500,000

10128

D776
P147c3

D776
P147c 3